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843 for you. The child gets in the right position for coming out if you move around. The more you are a coward about it, the worse it will be for you."

842 Little attempt is made to control the sex of the expected child.
843 Whether or not such control is possible is a moot point. One informant told of "a ceremony which causes them to have a boy or a girl. It is performed right at the beginning." The man was unable to supply the details, however. On another occasion the same person stated that, if a man scrapes his foot over the four sides of the woman in labor, a boy is born; but, if a woman touches the four sides with her hand, the baby is a girl. Most commentators discount these claims:

> There are lots of people here who would control it if they could, like D., who has all boys and wants a daughter.

> Whether it's a boy or a girl is in Yusn's[1] power; that's the way I look at it. Some shamans say they can control it, but I believe there is nothing to that.

843 However, the activity of the child during the prenatal period furnishes a clue to its sex. A fetus which "has lots of life" is presumed to be a male; a less active one, a female. Estimates of the length of pregnancy are approximately accurate.

[578] [754] It is essential for the expectant mother and her husband to avoid acrimonious clashes with others. "A pregnant woman has to keep out of fusses with other women because many are witches, and, if she quarrels with them, they may harm the child. The husband has to be careful of witches, too, when his wife is pregnant."

844 [602] At the onset of labor pains close female relatives of the woman attend her. Her mother, her mother's sisters, her mother's mother, and her older sisters are members of the relationship group from which assistants are most likely to come. If the husband's family lives near by, his mother or sister may be present. [759] When a woman skilled in midwifery is numbered among these relatives, no outside help is asked. Otherwise the service of a woman who has special ceremonial and practical knowledge is sought. Such a woman is often selected on the basis of "the good luck

[776]

[1] A deity known also as Life Giver.

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she has had in bringing babies into the world." If she has "a family of fine children of her own," it is a happy augury. Very important is her right to perform a ceremony, to pray and sing and treat the newborn infant ritually. It is not absolutely essential to have such a "ceremonial" woman in command at this time, but, since success in life depends so largely on ritual preparation, she functions in a majority of births. This woman is well paid for her services; some valuable property, often a horse, is her reward.

When the time for delivery draws near, the husband leaves the home. Unless an emergency arises, he cannot be present at the birth, for relatives of his wife to whom he stands in a relationship of respect and avoidance are certain to be there.[1]

There is no definite rule which bars other men from being present. In fact, they are sometimes asked to attend in emergencies. But usually "men don't come to a birth because there are so many women around, and a man would feel funny." Another factor which discourages their attendance is that discharges from the woman's body at childbirth are to some extent equated with menstrual blood, from which a man can contact painful swelling of the joints.

During delivery the woman kneels with legs apart before an oak post which she uses to steady herself. Assistants hold her arms if she requires aid. To facilitate the birth, the genitals may be bathed in water in which the pounded root of a plant (*Eriogonum jamesii*) has been boiled. A similar decoction will be used after the birth to insure rapid healing. To speed birth, four small, light-colored pieces of the inner leaves of narrow yucca may be swallowed with salt, one after the other. The midwife massages the woman's abdomen downward and receives the child. With a long black flint or with a sharp edge of a length of reed or yucca leaf, she cuts the umbilical cord about one and one-half inches from the baby's navel and knots the end or ties it with a strand of yucca-leaf string. If the child does not cry or breathe at once, cold water is dashed on its body. When a baby is obviously alive

[1] For an account of these observances see pp. 163–81.

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this later on. Later the child will be named according to circumstances; something about the child will suggest a name. Once in a while the first name is kept because it fits so well that the person "wears" it all the time. 551 553

Since the name relates to personality traits or to events, it is not necessarily a clue to the sex of its bearer.

When labor is excessively difficult or long delayed, and especially when sorcery is suspected, appeal is made to men or women who carry on still other ceremonies. One elder described such a rite which he had performed over a young woman. She had been in labor for about eighteen hours, and it was feared that "the baby would have to be killed and taken out in pieces to save her." In response to an urgent request from her relatives, the old man hurried to the camp with a helper. He prayed and drew a cross of black mineral substance on his helper's hand. He then directed his assistant to put his arm around the woman's body at various places and to press her gently while he began a ceremonial song of four verses. At the end of the second verse a boy was born--"born before I got through with one song." Great claims are made for these childbirth ceremonies and for these practitioners. "As soon as they touch the woman who is having a hard time, everything is made easy for her." 845 755 759

Nursing begins "as soon as the mother has milk." The colostrum is not differentiated from the milk secreted later. Concerning frequency of feedings, it was said, "I have seen that, when women have babies, as soon as they cry the mothers give them the breast." "The women boil up lots of bones and make a soup right away. They say that makes lots of milk and pure milk." If the mother's milk does not flow at once, the child is not fed the first day. If she is unable to nurse the child on the second day, it is given a little water. Should she still lack milk on the third day, the child is nursed by a mother's sister or other close relative. 853 [602]

From the mother a Spartan attitude is expected. "Women didn't lie around as they do now; they got up soon afterward." "I saw T.'s wife. She has had many children. Today she has a baby; tomorrow she is around doing something. Some lie down for an hour maybe. The next day they are up." But most con- 846 149 846

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the child has his earliest and most meaningful contacts. In his own household live his parents and his brothers and sisters. Only adoption or exceptional circumstances bring others into the home. Within easy reach are the maternal grandparents, the mother's sisters and their husbands and children, and the mother's unmarried brothers.

The child is not entirely cut off from other contacts. The extended family from which his father has come may be located in the same vicinity. Then the paternal relatives will see him often and show great affection for him.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally. There are no special modes of address or obligations owed to maternal relatives which are withheld from paternal relatives. That the mother's kin figure so prominently is a mechanical reaction to the rule of residence and the scattered and isolated state of the extended families rather than to any theories concerning the closeness or remoteness of particular lines of kin.

The adult men the child sees are dressed in long-sleeved buckskin shirts, with rounded neck opening and with fringe at the shoulders and at the lower ends of the sleeves. They also wear broad loincloths of the same material which fall to a point just above the knees in front and hang in back "just high enough so they won't be stepped on." For footgear they have knee-high moccasins with uppers turned down in folds. These folds are convenient places in which to carry knives or small objects. Often an upward-curving, disk-shaped piece about an inch and a half in diameter projects beyond the toe. This is really a portion of the rawhide sole which has been pounded, moistened, and sewed into position at either side. When it dries, it stays fixed. This projection is found most often on moccasins made for special or dress occasions. "The upturned toe is for decoration only; it's of no special use. In fact, a person sometimes trips on it."

The high boot is the characteristic type, but, when buckskin is scarce, low-cut moccasins suffice. Sometimes high moccasins are worn in cold weather and low ones in summer. Among the members of the Eastern Chiricahua band, but not the Southern and Central Chiricahua, the low-cut moccasins are used almost as frequently as the others.

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534 The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not
177 necessarily connected with ritual, a one-stringed violin (probably inspired by European models), and more infrequently a flute.

The elaborate system of affinal avoidances makes it expedient
361 to allow some space between the home of the man who joins the
621 encampment and those of his wife's relatives. Therefore, a dis-
[602] tance of two or three hundred paces may separate two dwellings. Each family is afforded privacy, yet relatives and neighbors are near enough in case of danger. The comparative independence of each home is further safeguarded by the nature of the country, by natural barriers which often conceal one dwelling from the next, even though the distance which separates them is not great.

[721] Because these people raid surrounding groups as a regular course,
[312] they have reason to fear retaliation and therefore seek to conceal their habitations as much as possible. Desirable locations must be near enough to streams and springs to insure an adequate water supply and close to the highlands so that foes can be led into a fruitless and wearying search through the hills.

The possessions, the materials from which they are made, and
361 the uses which they imply make it plain that the food economy
484 is based on the wild animals and plants of the region and that the
221 people must be ready to follow a seasonal food quest and to re-
[433] move to a new locality when it becomes apparent that hunting or gathering is more rewarding there. A popular folk tale, explica-
[538] ble in terms of this life, tells how a man becomes separated from the members of his family and seeks to rejoin them, passing camp site after camp site which they have abandoned, until he finally overtakes them. Other accounts describe the frequent movements of the people, with those who have no horses carrying their goods and their children.

Sometimes a single household goes off alone on an economic
361 errand and even remains by itself for some time. But, ordinarily,
621 the extended family breaks camp and moves as a body. It can,
596 therefore, be called the smallest unit prepared to maintain a
[433] separate economic existence for any length of time. Thus, even in the midst of the nomadic phase of his life, the most significant
[571] social bonds remain undisturbed for the individual.

Despite constant movement, population tends to concentrate

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867 Another episode concerns a small boy who had just become
•602 aware of the "polite form" of speech, that indirect mode of ad-
dress in use between affinal relatives who must conduct them-
[691] selves with restraint when they are together. He approached his
576 grandmother's home where there were visitors before whom he
was too bashful to appear and, in this most formal manner, asked
if the guests were still inside. He was, of course, greeted by
[606] laughter. He did not realize until later that he "was doing what
a son-in-law does who thinks his mother-in-law is in a certain
place and wants to make sure before he goes in."

867 A comparable mistake was made by some little boys at a girl's
881 puberty rite. During the ceremony the adolescent girl runs
around a basket tray placed to the east of the ceremonial struc-
ture. In her path, that the benefits of the ceremony may accrue
to them also, run young boys and even old men. "When the
girls ran around the basket, we boys were expected to run after
them. At first, we thought it was a real race, and several of us
beat the girls. Then one old man told us that it was not the way,
that we were not supposed to pass them, so we stayed behind the
other three times."

869 Even when the cultural ethic has been unmistakably indi-
764 cated, a youngster may lag in conforming to it. One man was
reluctant to talk about death or burial, for horror of such topics
[761] is great, but he confessed that this had not always been his state
of mind:

> I remember that whenever a funeral procession was passing by we were told not to look at it. But we did look at it whenever the old people were not around.
>
> I once asked my grandmother where they were taking a dead man who was being carried away. She told me not to look at the procession. Then she told me that they were putting the man away; that he couldn't walk, or dance, or eat, or sing by himself any more; that they were putting him under the ground.
>
> "But if they are putting him under the ground, how will he keep the dirt out of his eyes?" I asked. She explained to me that he was all fixed up so that no dirt would get in his eyes. It was the first time I had ever thought about death. I began to ask more questions of my grandmother, but she told me that he couldn't come back any more and to stop talking about it.
>
> [857] A few days later we children played funeral. We killed grasshoppers and buried them.
>
> I wasn't afraid until I was about seven years old. Then I learned about ghosts, and from that time on I was pretty much afraid.

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The old man says, "So, you won't obey? I'm going to check you off right now." The boy cries louder. 861 865

"Now stop that! Listen to me. Come over to me or I'm going to get you." The child is frightened. He tries to crawl behind his father, his mother, or his grandmother. But they act as if they have given the old man the privilege to do what he wants with the boy, and they push the boy forward. Then the old man grabs him and struggles with him. He puts him in the sack and says, "Are you going to behave?"

After that the boy is prompt and behaves. If he won't get wood, his mother says, "All right, I'll call the old man." Then he goes for the wood at once. After the old man works on him like this two or three times, he comes to be a good boy.

These old men look fierce and funny. The children are afraid of them. The old man is never the grandparent. It is always an outsider. The grandparent is there with the parents to see the child get his lesson. [603]

Cowing children by reference to ill-favored old people is not to be confused with a manner of joking practiced for another purpose: 522 887

An old woman might joke with a little boy, calling him her husband, telling him, "I'll be back tonight and see you," and making all kinds of funny remarks. Here is what is behind it. They say that when an old person jokes like this it will give long life and good luck to a little child. But [for an old person] to joke about this concerning someone of the child's age is not good. It's against the child. [777]

I've been joked at like this. My aunt [a mother's sister; the child's mother had died] used to play this trick on me. She picked out an old woman who was as ugly as anything. She used to say, "I've brought you up and you've got to do what I tell you. You must marry that old woman." The old woman, when she came around, would say, "I missed you last night. Come over to my place and I'll cook for you."

But they never mention relatives when they joke in this way. To do that will give the child bad habits and bad ideas. If you fool like that with a grandmother, you'll get used to being free with relatives. You'll see your own sister over there and have relations with her. You'll turn into a witch. To encourage joking about marriage with relatives is just like teaching your daughter to play cards all the time or to drink whiskey. 522 602 [754]

To return to other disciplinary measures:

For crying children we have some kind of covering. We do not whip the child if we can help it. We put the covering over the child's head and hold it that way until he stops crying. We do this to little children, do it several times until they stop crying. The little children do not like to have anything over their heads. That is one punishment. 865 861

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surprise ending by collapsing completely. Another represents the bow, and still another a house.

The children seldom attempt such adult pastimes as shinny, the stave games, and the moccasin game. They watch their elders play them, however, and become conversant with the principles involved.

THE CHILD AND HIS KIN

The social world to which the child is first introduced consists of a well-organized group of kin. The significant events of his life will be planned and made possible by his blood relatives. Should a person be wronged, his relatives act for him and with him; should he be accused, they shield him from vengeance. If a man dies with grievances unavenged, his relatives perpetuate his quarrel in a feud between families. It is they who have the responsibility of his death rites and who mourn for him.

Kinship is counted bilaterally, through the mother and through the father equally.[10] It is impossible to get any convincing assurance that one kind of relative is necessarily "closer" than another. The expressions on this point seem to be reflections of personal feelings rather than instances of the operation of any rule.

All blood relatives are supposed to be generous and loyal, and, in times of crisis, the appeal of a blood relative of any degree is difficult to ignore. Nevertheless, differences of age, sex, residence, and remoteness of connection become inevitably registered in patterns of behavior.

The parent-child relationship.—The parents take primary responsibility for the support, proper rearing, and ceremonial protection of their children. The influence of the child-parent bond is present in many forms of behavior. A man often begs for supernatural power, for "something to live by," because of the need of his children. One who makes a request for help, material or spiritual, greatly strengthens his plea if he supplicates in the

[10] For the kinship terms and a diagram of the kinship system see the Appendix.

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[604] position of stepmother to these youngsters.[11] Her very closeness
[587] to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked to-
[595] gether since childhood, establishes her interest in the develop-
ment of her sister's children. The chances are that she will per-
[431] form protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them
[574] food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home,
and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need.

[881] At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give gen-
erously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to
[584] marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who
passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the
dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may
[583] furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her
household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his
[868] bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the in-
struction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficien-
cy. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants,
it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her
sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

[591] Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the
mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic
family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than
the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the
individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the
[574] child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encamp-
ment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home.
[596] At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved
[602] acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of
avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer
[851] bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking.
Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among
his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest
touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[601] [11] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

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604 593 587 brother's children.[13] At all the significant occasions when the maternal relatives offer personal or economic assistance the father's brother contributes also.

The father's sister normally has a family and duties of her own, her brother has passed from the extended family to which she is attached, and the sororate-levirate forms can have no effect upon her future position in respect to her brother's offspring. But the restraint relationship which has existed between 604 593 this woman and her brother implies lifelong consideration. No better way of responding to this exists than generosity toward [834 the brother's children. Moreover, a man who is in difficulty with his affinal relatives, angered over his wife's behavior, or divorced 586 is likely to return to the extended family in which he was reared. 602] His sister is one of the members of this social group, and her counsel is of great moment in the formation of decisions. These strong ties of consanguinity are felt by the woman to include her brother's children as well.

601 604 One term means father's brother and father's sister and is extended in use to include father's cousins, male and female. The same term, used as a self-reciprocal, designates a brother's child and, in an extended sense, a male cousin's child.

601 605 593 *Brother-sister and cousin relationships.*—The terminology employed to express the sibling, cousin relationship departs in principle from other sets. There are two self-reciprocal terms in use, but, unlike the other kinship terms, they imply sex difference or similarity between the speaker and the person addressed. *Šikis* literally signifies "sibling or cousin of the same sex as myself," and *šilah* carries the force of "sibling or cousin of the opposite sex from myself." Thus, when a woman says *šikis*, she is speaking of a sister or female cousin; when a man uses the same term, he has in mind a brother or a male cousin. Conversely, when a man says *šilah*, he is referring to a sister or a female cousin, and when a woman employs the same term, she is indicating a brother or a male cousin. The *šikis* term can be said to link relatives of the

[601] [13] In that case a stepfather stepchild term may be substituted for the father's sibling term (see n. 12, p. 56).

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not possible for them to practice total avoidance, considered the ultimate in respect and reserve. The possibility of complete avoidance does exist for cousins of opposite sex, however, since they are of different households. One man who was asked how he would demonstrate his respect for his female cousin answered, "A boy shows his respect for a girl cousin by not visiting her." 605 834 [593] [574]

From this conception of cousin relations it is not a great jump to total avoidance, and we find that some persons, though by no means all, do practice such avoidance. This is the only instance in which a true blood relative is avoided, though the married man responds to one of the most inclusive lists of affinal avoidances on record. [602]

Avoidance of cousins of opposite sex "starts when they are old enough to understand such things, when they have grown to maturity, and lasts all their lives." 605 834 867

Šilah who are cousins, not sister and brother, sometimes hide from each other. R. hides from J.; they are cousins. They cannot see each other at all. It wouldn't be done between sister and brother, or between two boy cousins or two girl cousins. Cousins do it because they love each other very much and wish to show their respect. After they start it, they are very careful what they say about each other, for their relation is one of respect, like that of a man to his mother-in-law. [593]

J. and S. are cousins. They have hidden from each other all their lives. When cousins do this, they give presents to each other in the beginning, and after that they help each other all the time. They hide from each other from that time on just as a man hides from his mother-in-law. Either the man or the woman can start it. You can't hide from a sister or an aunt. It is only between cousins of opposite sex that this is done, not between two men or two women. You cannot arrange with a cousin to use the polite form only;[14] it must be hiding or nothing. Of course, if you must speak to your cousin who hides from you, you might stand behind a tree, and then you would use polite form in talking to her. K. and Mrs. C. were cousins who hid from each other too. [431] [606]

I had a cousin. Just because she liked me, she wanted me to do it. I had been away to school. When I got back, she gave me a saddle and bridle. Then she asked me to hide from her. I said, "No." I told her I had been to school, that I didn't want to go the old way, that maybe the government would get after me if I did. So she said, "All right." This was about 1897. [177]

[14] For an explanation of polite form see pp. 171–81.

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605 If you hide from your cousin, then anything she has, whether it is money or
834 property, or anything else, she will give to you. You can't refuse a request from a person who hides from you. And it's the same for you if she needs anything.

[183] Since cousin avoidance is voluntary, where it will lead to complications or where the individuals concerned are likely to be thrown together constantly, it is seldom begun.

582 If marriage between cousins is prohibited, is it not difficult, in
602 view of the small population, for a young person to find a suitable mate? Sometimes this problem does arise, and young men
769 have been known to journey far from their homes for the purpose of making contacts which could lead to marriage. That the issue does not become more serious is due to two factors: the mobility and extensive range of these people and their anxiety to eliminate all mention and memory of the dead. Because of the first factor, families, except for nuclear groups of very close kin, tend to move apart and lose contact with each other. And because the names and antecedents of the departed are seldom mentioned, connections between remoter kin are soon forgotten when the families are separated.

605 When circumstances warrant, the cousin avoidance may be
834 terminated and the more ordinary manner of behavior toward a
182 relative of this degree resumed. The details of the procedure are the same as those governing the abrogation of affinal avoidance.[15]

Grandparent-grandchild relationships.—The wish for long life
886 and old age is constantly expressed in prayer and ceremonial
481 song. The staff on which the old person leans has become a sym-
782 bol of this concept. As one commentator wryly observed: "They pray for the old age staff. They say, 'Let me be old, let me have the old age stick.' If you have the old age stick that means you have reached a long life. But when they get it, they don't like it."

888 It is considered a good omen if an old person blesses a child or
887 performs a ceremony over him, for even as this individual's power and ceremony have preserved him to a ripe age, they may protect the child for a generous time span. The same notion is present in the preparation of the first cigarette. "A person's first

[787]
[852]
[276]

[15] See pp. 174–75.

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These preparations tax the resources of any one family. Therefore, because of the pleasurable public aspects of the rite, individuals outside the relationship group may lend aid, and its approach is a signal for exceptional generosity in many matters. 881 431 476

The man who's with you [on the hunt] is ruling you. He tells you what he wants and takes it. But many times it happens this way: if you were out with a thoughtful man and you had a daughter who was going to have a feast next summer, this man you're hunting with might say, "Your daughter is going to have a feast, and you haven't enough buckskin. You keep all the hides." He would do that because maybe that might be your last chance to get buckskin.

Buckskin is needed for the ornamented dress which the girl will wear during the rite. At least five skins are required: two for the upper garment, two for the skirt, and one for the high moccasins. This clothing follows the ordinary dress in cut, but only choice materials are used, and the garments are decorated with special designs. The girl's mother, her grandmother, or some other close female relative may work on this clothing; but, if no one in the family has the requisite skill, an outsider may be hired. The maker proceeds carefully and according to prescribed rules. Doeskins or buckskins may be used, but the tail suspended from the jacket must be that of a black-tailed doe. For the upper garment the skin side faces outward; for the skirt the flesh side is out. 881 292 294 [602]

The garments are decorated with designs symbolic of the forces which will be supplicated on behalf of the girl. The morning star and the crescent moon may be represented, as may a stepped design symbolizing the dwelling. Circles indicate the sun, and fringes streaming from their centers, the sunbeams. Connected arcs stand for the rainbow. Before the dress is finished all parts have to be colored yellow, the hue of pollen. Yellow ocher may be rubbed on, or the buckskin may be dyed in a liquid prepared from algerita roots. [532] [386]

The dress must be blessed as well as beautifully finished: [789] [533]

While it is being made they have someone sing for it. J. [a man] used to do it. But this singer is usually an old woman. She sometimes sings over it during two months. The family has to give her a great deal for these services. Sometimes the woman who makes it ties amulets on and sings for every string.

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through and wouldn't do anything. And now she's cross, has a bad mouth and a high temper. But she's a good-looking woman all right!

And if the girls are not of good disposition and balk, it harms not only themselves but causes it to rain and spoils the good time of all the people. That's what happened at the last ceremony, and that's why part of the dancing was spoiled. So we try to keep the girls in good humor and coax them.

After eating and listening to the old woman, the girl is ready and comes out. From here on all the people see what happens.

881 793

In spite of general similarities, the rituals of various attendants differ in detail. The prayers show minor divergences. One attendant feeds the girl throughout the four days of the rite; another asks the singer to do this. Some attendants sing for the girl, though most of them only pray. One attendant washes the girl's hair the first morning instead of having the initiate do it.

881 793 533 346 [602]

The erection of the ceremonial structure.—While the attendant is dressing the girl, the singer directs the building of the tepee-shaped ceremonial structure. Male relatives of the adolescent bring to the grounds four freshly cut young spruce trees, thirty to thirty-five feet long, from which all but the topmost boughs have been trimmed, and some oak boughs and yucca leaves.

At sunrise the singer requests the girl's male relatives and some of the visitors to arrange and erect the main poles. The trees are laid on the ground in clockwise order with butts equidistant from a central point and tips extending outward. The first to be arranged is the east pole. A second pole is laid with tip pointing to the south, a third lies to the west, and a fourth to the north. At the base of each pole a hole is dug. The singer sprinkles pollen on the poles from butt to tip. [788] Then near the leafy tip of each, in clockwise order, he ties a spray of sage and some snakeweed. To the east pole a bunch of grama grass may also be tied, [789] and at its top two eagle feathers are so attached that they will blow freely. This is to guarantee that "nothing is to happen while the tepee is up, that no poles shall fall." To this same pole a long rawhide rope is affixed.

[781] After a prayer has been said, knots of men lift the poles, sliding the butt ends into the holes prepared for them. As the poles

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The domestic intruder receives mention:

He asks me what happened
To his wife!

For the young people who are planning an assignation, a song has this reminder:

Wait for me
At the high bluff over there.

One song has to do with those who have become acquainted at the feast and soon must separate:

You will go back to your distant home;
We will be lonesome.

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At midnight, often at the time when the second social dance of the evening is about to get under way, food is again served. I have called the second dance of the night the "partner" dance:

After the circle dance, the men get in a group by the fire and the women go around and choose partners. A woman pulls at a man's clothes or pokes him if she wants him for a partner. Then he has to dance.

It's a general rule that the man has to pay the woman something if he dances with her. He pays after the four nights. If you haven't got anything, you tell the woman the first night so she can choose someone else. It is understood that if you dance with a woman you have something for her. It's not that you have to pay if you dance, but it's just too bad if you don't. Everybody talks about you. The girl will tell everyone. She will say, "That man is no good; he didn't pay." All the girls will say this then. [465] [626]

The girl dances with the same man for the four nights. It is right then that they fall in love. A girl chooses a boy she likes. I got acquainted with my wife this way. I danced with her. That's what these dances are mostly for. [584]

To execute the partner dance, a man and woman remain in the same line but face in opposite directions. The man's left arm is opposite the woman's left arm, or his right arm is opposite her right arm. The couples, who are scattered here and there, dance forth and back in relation to the fire, about four steps one way and then four the other. Occasionally, two women tap the same man and then he must dance with both and must finally pay both. [465]

Blood kin and affinal relatives, including husband and wife, may not dance together. "You have to be sure you are not related. [602] [593]

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535 lated. Sometimes a man makes a mistake and asks a girl who is
[602] his kin to dance with him. She says, 'No, you are related to me.'"

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535 There is a definite etiquette attached to the partner dance:
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Some touch or link arms. A very prominent or dignified man would not touch a woman during the dance though. He wouldn't get familiar. A man who dances politely will have his hands locked over his breast. It shows that the man is not bothering the woman. N. [a prominent Chiricahua] always danced with his hands locked over his chest.

An unmarried man may dance with a married woman, or the other way around. It is all right to talk to your partner while you are dancing.

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533 The songs of the partner dance do not differ materially from
539 those of the round dance.

We will go to the last home.

are the only words of one. Its inner meaning is somewhat more complex, however: "The song means that perhaps your camp is the one far from the feast grounds and that after the dance you two are going over there together."

In another song of this type ridicule is heaped on the young man who is enamored of an older woman, the mother of children:

When there is a gathering for the ceremony, sweetheart,
I will take care of your baby for you,
I will take care of your baby for you.

Still another runs as follows:

Oh, Mescalero maiden, don't be afraid;
They are already gossiping about us,
But don't be afraid.
They who speak so chew rocks;[1]
Don't be afraid.

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533 The songs of the third and last social dance of each night of the
535 puberty rite may appropriately be called the morning-dance songs, since the dance they accompany begins several hours before dawn and continues until daybreak.

Toward morning the songs change, and the men and women separate and get in two lines facing each other. The lines are pretty far apart, and the partners of the dance which has just ended are right across from each other. When the sing-

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[1] That is, "are envious"; witches are often said to "chew rocks."

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584 In the old days it was considered shameful to go openly with a girl. If a man liked a girl, he would try to put himself in her way as much as possible without attracting notice. He would try to get to every social dance that she went to. That was the Chiricahua substitute for taking a girl out. It gave the young people a chance to meet. It gave the girl a chance to show whom she liked. If a girl chose the same man for a partner many times, you could be sure that that couple might get married. If a boy liked a girl and she showed him attention in this way, he might go to his father or his uncle or some other close relative and ask if he would try to arrange a marriage. Sometimes the boy would be turned down and sometimes not; he never knew.

D. is going through this stage now. He is in love with S.'s daughter. . . . . He doesn't do anything. He just goes to the store when he thinks she'll be there. He gets in a word or two. Then he goes one way and she goes another. He'll be watching every few minutes from the other side of the canyon. Pretty soon she'll come for water. He will be watching and will come to the place by a roundabout way, timing it to get there while she's there. Then he'll get in a couple of more words. Later she'll find some excuse to go off somewhere where he is, and so on.

Many understandings are reached following a military triumph. This is the time when spirits are high and when young men have won a stake which permits them to join the ranks of the suitors. "The Chiricahua turned their victories into a celebration, a dancing and marrying time. Lots of young men took advantage of the occasion."

583 602 The etiquette regulating the conduct of the married man and his wife's relatives makes elopement almost an impossibility. When it occurs, the affront to the girl's family is so serious that the offending couple is forced to live in isolation unless forgiveness and approval can be secured. "There are few cases of elopement. A girl who is not trained right might elope. Usually the couple doesn't come back to the girl's folks to live then but makes a camp apart."

832 826 But, even though their parents and relatives have much to say about the choice of a mate, the young people have their own standards of beauty and desirability and their own ways of influencing the issue. Concerning the physical traits in a girl which excite most admiration, and those which are least well considered, the following pronouncement is typical:

Girls with big lips, or a big nose, or with skin too dark; who are stooped or have big feet; who have a Roman nose or one too wide, or who have too long a

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836 They don't like it if there is sexual activity before marriage. If there is a child
684 as a result of this, they make them marry. This kind of marriage is the same as
583 any other kind. Polite terms are used between the in-laws, and presents are
[848] given to the father-in-law. They usually marry after the child is born, for a girl conceals her condition as long as she can.

In another account the possibility of flight to avoid the wrath of the family is mentioned, and there is a hint of retribution even in the case of a forced marriage:

Sometimes she went to another band to escape punishment. Nothing was done in the other band. Sometimes the boy and girl were forced to marry. When a girl of good family got into trouble, the two families talked it over, and they were married. But the man had to pay a horse because he had gone with the girl on the sly. The horse pardons the case.

836 Often pressure for honorable marriage comes from the rela-
583 tives of the boy as well as those of the girl, for they are conscious
602 of the wrong their kinsman has committed and are eager to
626 avoid difficulties between the two families.

One night I was caught by another fellow lying with this girl. The next night several more caught me. The news spread. The relatives of the girl found it out, came to me, and asked me if it was true.

One of them said, "You've been going with my relative. You've been doing this all the time. Why aren't you a man and tell me you want to marry her instead of keeping her outside nights where it's cold and things might happen?" . . . .

My father, sisters, and brother knew nothing of this. I was sneaking. The girl's relatives told my parents, and my father told me that I should marry her. He said that I should let him tell the girl's relatives of my intentions so that they wouldn't feel bitter against me.

Her brothers and her mother, too, found out. They said to the girl, "You've been fooling around with this man. You'd better get married or else there will be talk against you." I really wanted to marry her and she wanted to marry me. I was just young and didn't have sense enough to do it right.

836 Of course, many assignations go undiscovered. The young people are capable of clever devices against prying elders. One girl, for instance, took advantage of the close family bonds and contrived to have a sleeping-place at home and another at her grandmother's. When she did not return to one of these beds, it was assumed that she was in the other. Often she was in neither place but in the encampment of her lover, a young widower.

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D. said, "I am going to give you valuable property. That man will give you horses. But the way you start off is not right." 584 [583]

The old lady asked, "Who is this man?"

He's standing out there. He's my nephew. I love him. He's a good man for you. . . . ."

If the go-between is a relative of the suitor and a friend of the girl's family, he meets opposition by injecting a personal note that is hard to resist: "Sometimes the go-between would say, 'I want your daughter to marry this boy. He is my relative. From now on we will live as relatives.' "

It is an advantage "to get an influential person to talk for you." While the go-between is simply an agent, he takes his task seriously and believes his success is a measure of his persuasiveness. Should he be ungraciously received, he is likely to feel personal resentment. Consequently, it is more difficult for the average family to return a negative reply to a "public figure" than to an ordinary man. Forceful conversationalists are likewise in demand for this office. Sometimes a person gains a reputation in this field and may be asked to perform this service a number of times, but it is denied that there are any "professional go-betweens." Even affinal relatives may act for a young man: "I talked to my sister-in-law about a wife. I told her to ask a certain person for a wife for me. It took a long time." 584 554 [602]

A humorous story, illustrating the kind of temperament eminently suited for the task, is told of a man who has acted as go-between by request on a number of occasions and at least once without specific instructions: 584 156

J. got married through L. L. was always the life of the party. He was witty and loud spoken. He was a widower and J. was living with him. He was related to J. in some way. J. had been going with E.'s daughter for a long time. He intended to marry her anyway, but he had not done anything yet about it. Then L. was invited to a tiswin party at E.'s place. He got feeling good. J. and the girl were not there. While he was feeling good he got talking with Mrs. E. He said, "Now how about letting my relative marry your daughter?" Mrs. E. said, "That's fine!"

The next day L. woke up. He was the way people are after a party. "Oh, J.," he said, "now you are in for it!"

"What's the matter with you? You must feel pretty bad after that party," J. said.

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583 It would be a mistake to interpret these presents as a "bride price." They do not entitle the husband or his family to any extraordinary control over the wife or her property. In fact, the control exercised by the wife's family over the husband is much more stringent than that to which the woman is subject, despite the total absence of any exchange gifts to the man's family. Moreover, these gifts or their equivalents are never returned, not even in cases of unfaithfulness on the part of the woman or of dissolution of the marriage tie.

[182] [602] [606] The marriage gift functions as initial evidence of the economic support, co-operation, and generosity which a man owes his wife's close relatives. The promise of future assistance can even take the place of the gift on occasion, for it is said that a poor man, unable to muster wealth at the time he wishes to marry, might say: "I am poor, but whatever I am able to accumulate in the way of material things will be yours, for I will be here with you all the time."

The usual practice, after the presents have been received, is to "divide them up among the relatives." Kin of the girl who have contributed to her support and who have been consulted about the marriage arrangements, are sure to receive some part, if only a token offering.

585 [591] As soon as a separate dwelling can be built and equipped, the young couple begin their married life together, without ritual or formalities:

> A day or two after consent is given, the marriage takes place. As soon as everything is ready they start living together. The girl and her female relatives build the house. They put it up near the home of the girl's parents, for the young people usually go to live with the girl's relatives. The relatives of the girl usually furnish baskets and household equipment for the place, though sometimes the man's family may give them things with which to start out.

591 606 This emphasis upon matrilocal residence calls attention to one of the fundamental themes of the culture, for the organization of the economy assumes the presence and the closest co-operation of the sons-in-law.

> A man feels under obligation to his father-in-law. He feels that he should hunt for him. Therefore, there was the tendency in the old days to go to the wife's people. A man's parents recognized this obligation too. They often said, "Well, that's what you married for. You'd better go over there."

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601 192 224 606 for his parents-in-law. The word implies to me that the man's business is to hunt in this fashion for me if I am the father-in-law. It is his obligation to do so forever.

601 602 192 [606] It is not alone the father-in-law who calls a son-in-law "one who carries burdens for me." Every relative of the wife, no matter how remotely connected, is entitled to so address or refer to the husband. And the term with which he reciprocates is simply another form of the same verb which means "one for whom I carry burdens."

584 602 606 From the moment that consent to the marriage has been given, a relationship of total avoidance is established between the husband and certain of his wife's relatives. With these persons, avoidance is the unalterable rule and no choice is permitted. "Even if your wife's parents don't approve of the marriage, they have to be ashamed [practice avoidance] anyway." These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother. Thus, when the young man comes to his new home, there are at least three affinal relatives living close by (providing they are still alive) upon whom he may not look, and who may not see him. Even at the marriage feast this rule of avoidance must be respected. Avoidance makes necessary certain precautions in the arrangement of homes and obviates the possibility of a common meal for the larger relationship group, even though its members share the same larder.

606 602 [591] [585] 606 591 264 596 602 [361] A man lives near his in-laws and brings what he gets on the hunt back to them, all of it. His food is prepared there at his mother-in-law's place anyway. The camp of the young people is so arranged that the place of the parents-in-law cannot be seen; it might be behind some brush with the door facing the other way. The wife eats with her husband, though the food is usually prepared at her mother's home.

593 264 606 [196] The bringing of food to the husband by the wife is termed "she sets something in a container before him":

This means the act of the wife in bringing to her husband food that has been prepared by her mother. The word is now jokingly used to lazy men in the sense of, "You want things pretty easy, don't you? You want things brought on a silver platter to you."

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The adjustments which avoidance requires are a constant source of humor: 606 522 602

One day J. and I were in the trader's store. The baker was bringing in a tray of bread and rolls, holding it before him. We did not see him and were in his way. Someone shouted, "You, get out of the way! Do you think this is food being carried to an avoided person?" He said that because it looked as if the baker was coming to wait on us with a tray. Everyone laughed.

The difficulties of avoidance under all conditions give rise to a crop of "mother-in-law jokes" too: 606 522

We have stories and jokes about the mother-in-law. A man will tell how every time he wanted to cross a path or do this or that, his mother-in-law would always come into sight. It sounds funny when told by an Indian in the Indian language.

But, in spite of such levity, the obligation to avoid the designated affinities is solemn. The avoided person is called "the one to whom I do not go," and all kindly disposed individuals are expected to sound the warning, "Do not walk here!" when an individual is about to come into the presence of anyone from whom he "hides." 606 602

Sometimes by accident you meet a person you should avoid, nevertheless. Then you just duck away as fast as possible. When it happens, a man gets angry at himself sometimes. He says, "I should not have gone here." Or he might blame his mother-in-law and say, "She had no business being around here." It is a custom violated, and we do not like it.

The gravest objection is not to the proximity of the avoided relative or to the sound of his voice but to the sight of him:

If I do not hide from my wife's relatives whom I am supposed to avoid, they will call me a witch. If I run into the woman from whom I am supposed to hide and do it right along, she gets angry and calls me a witch. They say you'll get blind if you keep looking at these in-laws. This one tells the other relatives and they may try to chase me away perhaps. But I love my wife and want to stay on. Sometimes the Chiricahua had a little war among themselves about things like this, and someone would get killed. [578]

The average person takes little risk of jeopardizing his sight or of being considered a witch: 606

Often a mother-in-law will not take part in a social dance if she thinks it will expose her to her son-in-law. The same with a feast; both will not stay around at

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606 the same time. Often a man has to duck away or go out the back way before a crowd of people when his mother-in-law comes. They keep it up today and have to be just as careful, although it is sometimes even harder now.

596 606 602 [203] The husband is always conscious of the wishes and attitudes of the affinal relatives he never sees; "the man is ruled by them." Using his wife as messenger, they send him orders and hints of praise or censure. They know as much about his activities as if they shared his household, and he is correspondingly sensitive to their reactions. Said one man: "I know that if I had trouble [593] with my wife, my father-in-law would stick up for her. Your father-in-law tells you to do something, and if you don't do it, you have your wife on your hands, scolding all the time."

606 203 596 A common device of the parents-in-law for communicating directions is to tell their daughter what they want done when they know her husband is within hearing. Once a man with whom I was working paused to tell his daughter that he wanted some rocks, which he considered a hazard to his home, removed. No mention of who should do the work was made. But the implications were clear, and the next day the son-in-law was busy at the task. Soon after, the older man discussed the state of the woodpile in the same impersonal vein, and the following day the son-in-law was chopping wood.

606 203 Much oblique communication passes between avoidance affinities when a situation warrants it:

> You can't see your mother-in-law, but that doesn't mean that you don't think a great deal of her. Very likely she's the one you count on most in your wife's family. If you and your wife have trouble, maybe your mother-in-law will stand [593] out of sight and pretend to be talking to the baby or someone else, and she will [586] talk with you and try to settle the trouble you have been having. If she has stood up for you in this way, probably, even if you separate from your wife, you will continue to bring your mother-in-law food and things because you like her.

606 203 521 Sometimes the pretense of indirect discourse is dropped and an actual conversation between the two avoidance affinities takes place:

> In cases of emergency, or if you have wronged your wife, your mother-in-law may approach near enough to speak to you. She usually comes at night, but if she comes during the day, she must be behind some object so that you cannot see her face.

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Then, too, you may have to go and talk to her about important things. If you are separated from your wife and you trust your mother-in-law, you may get the help of somebody at your mother-in-law's camp to see that she is safely inside so you won't run into her. Then, standing outside, you may talk to her.

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The father-in-law, too, may find it necessary to state his views directly:

I talked to that boy, her husband. I said, "I'm talking to you. This day means something. It shouldn't be wasted. This day means something to everybody. Every day means that you should bring in something to eat. Make it count; work and make something. If you have nothing to eat, your wife cannot cook anything for you. It's not your place to be angry at your wife because you don't have anything to eat. Look at her clothes. Many things rest on you. It's the man's duty to bring in the meat and clothes. You can't expect the woman to do that."

I said, "My daughter, it is your place to keep house. Keep everything neat about your place. Keep yourself neat the way you were when I was raising you. Wear good clothes. Keep your husband's clothes clean. Keep your fire going all the time. Quit running around nights and doing things as though you were single. Don't fuss at each other."

And I said to the boy, "A woman must be treated well because she feeds you; she's the only friend you have. Your mother and father can't treat you better than your wife does. That's the way I feel about my wife." I told him, "She's the mother of the whole thing, this life you have to go through, and you may have a long life."

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When quarrels arise among a man's affinal relatives, it is to his advantage to be as neutral as possible, so that his relatives-in-law, and particularly his wife's parents, will not condemn him for intrusion into their affairs.

Now there's trouble at my place. My wife's stepmother told her that a cousin said something about her. So my wife hasn't gone over to visit that cousin for a long time. The cousin sees me and asks me why, but I make excuses and never say. But then my wife met this cousin and told her the truth. The next day this cousin came over to the stepmother and asked, "Did you tell that woman I said so-and-so?" The stepmother said, "No." So now the cousin says my wife made it all up. I thought it best to let my father-in-law know that I'm not taking sides, that I'm only an in-law here. He says that it's all right, he does not hold it against me. It's the nature of women, and we shouldn't bother about it, he says.

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But it would be superficial to infer that the husband is constantly tyrannized by his avoidance affinities. They would be ill advised, indeed, to drive to divorce a man who is discharging

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602 *The extensions of avoidance.*—The list of four affinities from whom the newly married man must hide is only the theoretical minimum; he is likely to be called upon to avoid many more individuals. Where the possibility of choice exists, the decision concerning which of the alternatives is to be adopted rests with the wife's relative. All the close kin of the wife—of her own, her parents', and her grandparents' generation—may elect to request avoidance. The list includes siblings and cousins of her father and mother, her grandfathers, siblings and cousins of her grandparents, and her own siblings and cousins.

In practice the number is much reduced, however. With the exception of those for whom avoidance is mandatory, most of the woman's male relatives will require only the polite form of speech from the husband. Many of them will waive even this requirement. Seldom do a woman's relatives of her own generation exercise their privilege of requesting avoidance. Most cousins and many siblings make no attempt to inaugurate even polite-form usages. The man's affinities who are most likely to demand avoidance are the sisters of his mother-in-law. It would be an affront if they failed to do so. Female cousins of the mother-in-law may be satisfied with polite form, however, and where the cousin relationship is rather remote, all special usages may be ignored.

602 606 Those who have been mentioned thus far as persons with the right to ask for avoidance are consanguineous relatives of the wife. But a stepmother who is not the wife's blood relative may request avoidance of her stepdaughter's husband. Once a young man and I were about to seek shelter from the cold in a trader's store. My friend opened the door, then said quickly, "I can't go in there. There is someone in there I can't see." We stole in through another door and made our way to a storeroom. The woman whose presence had made necessary our devious route turned out to be the stepmother and no real kin of the man's wife. Of the circumstances surrounding this case my companion said:

I avoid my wife's stepmother and cannot look at her. She requested it through my wife. It isn't necessary that a man avoid his wife's stepmother, but

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she sent word that we were to avoid each other, and so I must do it. She could have requested polite form only if she had wanted to, and we wouldn't have had to use that either if she had not requested it.

In a number of other cases the stepmother has not requested the avoidance.

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A man may be called upon to avoid those who have adopted and reared his wife, even though they are no real kin of the girl. The initiative comes from the foster-parents, and ordinarily none but the foster-mother and foster-father of the woman will be involved. Such cases are rare, however, for almost always some relatives survive to care for an orphan child.

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Where avoidance is not obligatory, there are a number of factors which may determine the decision. The closeness or remoteness of the relationship to the woman through whom the affinal bond is established is one of these. Thus, a sister of the wife's mother would be more likely to request avoidance than would the mother-in-law's female cousin, though both have the identical right theoretically. And, if a "first cousin" of the mother-in-law makes the request, it will still occasion no surprise, for she is considered a close relative of the bride. But if cousins of the mother-in-law beyond this range come forward with the demand, personal, less explicit reasons are likely to account for it.

When the two kin are very good friends, avoidance is likely to be the choice, for it is a means of honoring the wife by according the utmost respect to her mate. Since so much depends upon the manner in which intimacy has developed in the course of the years among kin, the reality may differ from the theoretical expectations. A mother's sister who has not got along too well with her niece may ask for no more than polite form from that relative's husband, whereas a mother's female cousin who happens to have the liveliest interest in the young woman may exercise full rights in the affinity situation. Accordingly, the selection of avoidance, where a choice exists, is evidence of approval of the union and of the principals to it.

Just as friendly backgrounds operate to establish avoidance understandings, so do opposite circumstances make them less

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602 likely. Where hostility has existed between the husband and the wife's relative in the past, avoidances which are not obligatory will certainly not be requested.

If the new affinity has formerly been on most familiar terms with the wife's relative, it is felt that the intimate knowledge implied makes difficult the formal behavior of an avoidance [195] obligation. Here, again, the polite form or less is deemed sufficient. Avoidance will also be waived when it is apparent that for some reason the two concerned are likely to be thrown together continually in situations where such behavior would be unfeasible.

Once avoidance has been established by choice, it is indistinguishable from avoidance begun automatically. Upon the marriage of his relative, the person who may exercise choice in respect to avoidance must come to an immediate decision. "There is no such thing as failing to avoid a certain relative-in-law for a number of years and then suddenly deciding to do it. The avoidance starts immediately after the marriage that makes it possible, or it does not occur at all." The decision to establish avoidance must be communicated to the relative at once, so that her husband will know what is expected of him and will not suffer the embarrassment of coming into the presence of one whom he should not see. If the husband and his wife's relative meet face to face before any notice is sent, it is very difficult to carry out the plan of avoidance:

B.'s wife is a distant relative of my wife. After I married I ran into her. I didn't know she was intending to hide from me. She didn't send any message to [195] me. When she saw me she said, "I was going to hide from him, but now I'll just be polite in words" [use polite form].

602 606 586 *The continuation or termination of avoidance.*—Even after the death of the spouse through whom it was established, unless extraordinary steps are taken, avoidance continues. And if the widower marries a woman of another family, the avoidance obligations to his first wife's relatives still persist:

F. was married to M.'s daughter. She died eight years ago. There were no other girls for him to marry in M.'s family when his wife died. He married E.'s girl. He avoids both Mrs. M. and Mrs. E. now.

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K. avoids my mother-in-law, who is his mother-in-law, too, by a first marriage. When his wife died there were no other available girls in the family. So he married outside the family. Now he avoids B., his present mother-in-law, too. 606 586

I hide from my present father-in-law. My first wife's mother was living until recently, and I hid from her too.

Avoidance of the wife's relatives commonly continues, also, after the separation of the married pair. This is all the more remarkable because, with divorce, the family of the woman loses all real claim to the economic support of the former husband. 602 606 586

The perpetuation of the avoidance relations serves a number of functions. It acts as a reminder that marriage is more than a matter of sexual privileges; that it is, in addition, a commitment of co-operation and respect between a man and a family—a commitment which death, remarriage, or divorce cannot entirely efface. Also it encourages a man to remarry into the same family after the death of his wife, for double obligations of this nature loom as a burden to him. Finally, it deters divorce and remarriage into another family with the attendant obligations. [581] [182] [587]

Termination of avoidance in any circumstances is strongly opposed by some informants:

According to the old custom, the person who stops avoiding his in-law is a witch. A man is a fool for stopping. I don't care if you are divorced; it goes on. It could be stopped, of course. I could get angry and say to my wife's relative, "Oh, I'm not going to hide from you any more." But what would people think of me? I wouldn't do it. I'm a good Chiricahua. You can't do it gracefully. The men in the three cases [of duplicate avoidance obligations following remarriage] I have just given you are young fellows. One is thirty-two years old, one is also in his thirties, the oldest is about forty. All were born under government supervision. If the young fellows do it, what do you think about the old fellows? They wouldn't stop doing it. C. told me these forms go on and on. [178]

And yet, under certain conditions, avoidance may be suspended or terminated:[3] 607 606

In an emergency, at the birth or death of a member of the family, in a case of life or death, you can go over avoidance and walk right in to the place where your mother-in-law or someone from whom you hide is. But it's not necessary to drop [195]

[3] The procedure described at this point is also used to terminate the cousin avoidances described on pp. 61–62. [605]

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[195] polite form at this time. You can say anything you want in polite form. This may occur at a birth, when a woman labors so hard that some man who knows how to take care of her is needed. Then they overlook it.

Obligatory avoidances cannot be permanently ended while the woman because of whom the relationship was established is still alive. Even where avoidance was optional, "almost always the woman whose marriage had started the relationship would be asked first and her approval gained if she were still alive."

A man might have bad luck. One after another of his relatives might die. There might be a certain relative whom he avoids, but who he thinks might give him good advice and encouragement if he could talk matters over with him. So he tells his wife that he does not want to avoid her relative any more. If she thinks it is all right, he rolls a cigarette, takes a few puffs on it, and sends it to the relative with word that, after this, they should not hide from each other. If the relative takes the cigarette and smokes it too, it is all over, and they do not hide from each other after that.

The first move may come from either affinal relative:

There was an equal right for either the husband or the woman's relative to roll and send the cigarette. A man might say to his wife: "I no longer want to avoid your brother. I want to be with him and go with him and speak with him." If his wife approved, he would have her take over the cigarette. When the avoidance is broken off like this we say, "It has become again that one goes to him."

[276] Cigarettes offered in this fashion do not have to be accepted:

When a cigarette was offered in this way to end an avoidance relationship, it could be refused, but this refusal would never show anger on the part of the person who refused. A man might say: "We have hidden from each other all these years. All this time we have helped each other and thought well of each other. I do not think our relations would be helped by this move. I would rather hide from you for the rest of my life."

Even when avoidance is abrogated, a measure of formality is retained. "If the two who are hiding from each other smoke a
[195] cigarette like that, they don't have to hide from each other any more. But they have to keep on with the polite form."

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587 After the death of a man's wife and his remarriage, the obligatory avoidance observances between him and relatives of his first wife may be terminated:

[286] If the family has no more girls he can marry and a man gets permission to marry out of the family after his wife's death, perhaps he will not want to avoid his first wife's father any longer. In that case he will take a cigarette and go

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through that ceremony. This happens a good many times. It happened with S. and P. not long before S. died. That was about six months ago. P. was S.'s father-in-law. They had been hiding from each other for over forty years. Six months ago they gave each other cigarettes in this way. After that you could see them sitting together talking, just like any other two men. The same thing happened between M. and K.

606 602 578

Personality conflicts in the avoidance relationship.—In spite of the absolute standards of good will which are supposed to govern the relations between a married man and his affinities, conflicts in interests and in personalities do occur. The wife is in continuous touch with her relatives, and any indignity she suffers at the hands of her husband is immediately known to them. The husband is in an anomalous position until his standing among his wife's kin is assured, for, although he is nominally considered the head of his household, he is subject to the strict scrutiny of his wife's relatives. [592]

Irritations and resentments between affinal relatives sometimes crupt into open hostility: [579]

R. was . . . . always abusing his wife. It led to a fight between him and the woman's stepfather. The stepfather was just like a bulldog. In the fight he bit R.'s finger off. He must have swallowed it, for they never found it. It was a jubilee fight, right on a moonlit night!

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The older participant, the wife's stepfather, had never avoided his opponent. Therefore, the encounter did not involve a violation of the avoidance obligation. But in the heat of anger even that extreme breach of etiquette has been known to take place:

A man has just beaten up his mother-in-law. This man has avoided his mother-in-law and her sister. He has had trouble with his wife and has been separated from her. Now he has tried to get his wife to go on with him again. He went over to her place. Her mother was so angry at him that she came right over to the place where he was. They threw everything to the wind and began fighting. He beat her up. They won't even use polite form any more. They insulted each other and got kicked, so what's the use of polite form now? But this does not mean that the man will not continue to avoid his mother-in-law's sister. It depends on the individuals concerned. [602]

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Of another mother-in-law–son-in-law breach this account was given:

One man had serious trouble with his wife and her family. His mother-in-law helped his wife throw stones at him and drive him out of camp. She saw him that

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Polite form.—Polite form is a special third-person singular or plural form of the verb attached to every paradigm. There is an ordinary third-person form, and so linguists distinguish between the two by labeling the polite form the "fourth person." Since the polite form, though it can be used in direct address, is essentially a third-person form, it necessarily injects a note of indirection into any conversation in which it is employed.

The presence of an avoided person, if he is within hearing, must be discreetly ignored, and direct address to him is ordinarily ruled out except for moments of crisis. At these times it is the polite form of speech which passes between the two. Whenever one avoidance affinity speaks of another, and this is much more common, the reference must be couched in the fourth-person form.

[601]

Since the common set of terms for affinal relatives is derived from the verb "to carry a burden," and since every paradigm has a fourth-person form as well as a regular third-person form, it follows that there are two ways of saying "affinity who has married into my family"—one polite and one ordinary—and two ways of saying "affinity into whose family I have married." The two terms of this set which are expressed in the fourth-person form are the ones used to denominate affinities who are avoided or to address those to whom polite form is used. The other pair is used of or to affinities with whom neither avoidance nor polite form has been inaugurated.

There are two other words in use to designate affinal relatives with whom avoidance or polite-form usages have been instituted. They, too, are taken from verbs and are fourth-person forms. Unlike the words of the other set, these two forms indicate the sex of the person to whom they are addressed. The term which singles out the male to whom polite form or avoidance is owed literally means "he who is old" and in a primary sense has the connotation of father-in-law. The other, in use to or of women of a comparable category and carrying the primary meaning of mother-in-law, can be translated as "she who has become old." The use of the two affinity systems overlaps. For instance, the

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602 195 [193] father-in-law can be referred to by the son-in-law as "one for whom I carry burdens" and also as "he who is old."

The question of whether polite form is to be required and the mode of notification are the business of the woman's relatives.

As soon as the relatives of the girl heard about it, those who intended to do so started to use the polite form the next time they saw me. They told me that I should use the polite form to them, and in that very sentence they used it themselves. So they really used it first.

Polite form begins immediately after marriage. Sometimes the individual tells you to use the polite form; sometimes he or she just uses it to you, and you must use it in return.

Perfect decorum must be maintained when two "who are ashamed in words" are together:

You can't pass water, defecate, or use smutty language when anyone to whom you use polite form is around. If one of them is in an embarrassing or ridiculous position, you cannot laugh at him but must leave the place immediately. You have to be careful of your language, too, when someone like this is around.

[551] Ordinarily, names may be used in speaking of absent persons, but a stricter usage is observed by a polite-form affinity:

You don't call the name of a man to whom you use polite form. If you do have to mention his name, you have to add something, as "the one who is known as C." or "the one who is called C." Others can use his name before you though. Usually in referring to him you just say "the one who is an affinity to me."

602 195 596 [496] [426] It is evident that these observances are related to that same economic solidarity which exists between avoidance relatives:

I feel that if I needed some service or property I could ask it of someone to whom I used the polite form. I'd be sure of getting it. If I were having a girl go through the puberty ceremony, I might ask these people for help, and a man helps his wife's relatives meet the expense of a ceremony which his wife's relatives are putting on. You can take property privileges with anyone to whom you use the polite form. You can borrow property from them freely, for you know they will never say anything to you that is disrespectful. You have more rights in this respect than you would with your own family.

602 195 578 [293] But in spite of convention, polite form, like avoidance, often masks repressed dislikes:

Some people, when they get drunk, will fight their own fathers. And they don't care if someone they have to be polite to tries to handle them. Even though they are supposed to be ashamed before a person, that isn't going to hold them down when they're drunk. Sometimes they don't like a person they are ashamed before in words, and then, when they are drunk, it comes out.

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Theoretically, all adult relatives of the wife who do not automatically avoid her husband may request polite form of him. There are some of these relatives who will almost certainly ask for polite form and others who probably will not. Among the former are those who might have been expected to request avoidance, but who, for some reason, did not. Any other course would advertise the poor opinion they have of their relative or of her new mate. [602 • 195]

But there will be more distantly related kin of the wife who have had little intimate contact with her. When such individuals meet the man for the first time after his marriage, they may indicate the unchanged nature of the association by speaking pleasantly to him in the ordinary way. Most likely they will address the in-law term, "one who carries burdens for me," to him, but it will be the "regular" and not the "polite" term of the set that they will use. [601]

As in the case of avoidance, where latitude in the matter exists and polite form is chosen nevertheless, it may be accepted as an evidence of friendliness and approval:

> A person who does not have to ask for avoidance or polite form but who does it anyway shows that he or she likes the relative and approves of the in-law. It shows approval of the marriage. I should be very proud, for many of the prominent men of the reservation use polite form to me.

The ages of some of the wife's relatives at the time of her marriage automatically prevent many polite-form usages (and avoidances too) from ever being established:

> A person could not request polite form from another until he or she was old enough to understand the custom, that is, until about eighteen years of age.[4]

> I don't talk in the polite way to S. He was little when I married his sister, so he couldn't ask for it. It's got to be started right away, so we have never talked in polite form all these years. . . . .

In fact, the relations established in lieu of polite form between a man and the younger members of his wife's extended family are

[4] The concept of the years of discretion, independence, and maturity has stretched with white contact. In purely aboriginal times an individual several years younger than the age mentioned would have been prepared to make decisions of this kind. But the substance of the statement would hold, doubtless, for preadolescents in aboriginal times. [884 177]

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602 195 likely to be really informal. These youngsters are among the few individuals of that group with whom the man does not have to exercise care in word and action, and he is soon on grounds of easy familiarity with them. This makes all the more impossible any establishment of future restraint relations with them.

The last statement implies another factor which controls polite-form decisions—the degree of past or present intimacy between the wife's relative and her husband.

If a relative of your wife doesn't want you to use polite form to him, perhaps it is because he likes you very much and wants to go with you as a partner. Then you'd have to sleep together when you were out camping, bathe together, relieve yourselves when you were together, and that would be all right only if he was not ashamed of you in words. If the polite relationship exists, you can't undress, urinate, or do anything personal like that in his presence. If you ever go out with your wife's brother on a hunt and there is only flat country around and no place to hide, the shame relationship would make it hard on you. So, often, the polite form is not entered into for practical reasons.

[601] C. called my father "cousin" [father's brother's son, in this case]. I call C.'s daughter "cousin." When she married, I could have used polite form to her husband. Then he would have had to use it to me. But I did not want to, because we had been pretty intimate. He would have had to act reserved, and it was hard to put him in that position after what had taken place.

But, once it is started, polite form cannot be casually terminated. [586] "If your wife's brother wants to change his relationship with you, your wife would object, and a thing like this might even break up the marriage. You can't quit or change in the middle."

602 195 586 In reference to the perpetuation of the polite form beyond the life-span of the connecting relative and after divorce, there are these dicta:

We use these forms and usages as long as these people to whom we are acting in this way live. Even if a man's wife dies, this goes on.

We keep up polite forms even after the death of the wife. In case of divorce, polite form continues too.

Polite form is terminated even less frequently than avoidance. If total avoidance becomes an intolerable burden, after a death or divorce it may be scaled down to polite form. But if polite form were discarded, there would be a return to familiar relations

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on the part of persons between whom restraint has been practiced for some time—an abrupt change of demeanor which most individuals do not care to invite.[5]

THE MARRIED MAN AND HIS BLOOD KIŃ

602 829

The formal obligations of a man to his wife's relatives are explicit and numerous, but he is seldom as isolated from his own relatives and friends as a bare recital of affinal relationships would suggest:

[592] [596]

There is the word that means one household or home. If the group of related households is very small, if there is only one, or if there are only two or three dwellings in it, you might call this a household still, for we do not like to use the word "extended family" unless there are as many as five or six houses.

602 829 596 [621]

"Extended family" means a group of homes occupied by relatives. At the very least an extended family is a father and mother, their unmarried children, and the families of their married daughters.

Several extended families make up the local group. In most cases it includes families which are connected by marriage, and between whose members friendly relations signified by the term "friends we have become" are in force.

602 621 596 [582]

It appears, then, that it is not unusual for families whose members have intermarried to belong to the same local group, and often a married man may expect to have consanguineous relatives as well as affinities in the vicinity. One factor which explains why families united by marriage live in such close proximity is the absence, in general, of any obligation to marry out of the local group.

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At our encampment we are really an extended family. My father-in-law is here with his father-in-law. I am here with my father-in-law. If my wife's sister marries, there will be another household. Since the people in such an extended family are all related, all the girls and boys of marriageable age are *bilah* to each other and can't marry. But a man doesn't have to go far for a wife, for there are many extended families near by from which he can choose a wife. Being in the same local group doesn't prevent a man from marrying someone. There has to be real relationship to prevent marriage.

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This does not mean that a mate is always chosen from the same local group. Previous marriages within the local group may make this impossible: "Marriages like this went on between

[587]

[5] Yet polite form can be terminated to accommodate the sororate-levirate (see p. 424).

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621 582 602 those who camped together all the time, until they became so intermarried that the younger people were really relatives, and then men had to go elsewhere for wives." And yet, the better chance of the young people of the same district to become acquainted, the fluidity of the local group over the years, and the tendency to forget quickly remoter kin who are deceased make it possible for many of the youths to find eligible mates in their own local groups and to strengthen the ties between the resident families.

582 621 602 571 Even when the extended families united by the marriage of their younger members do not reside in the same local group, they are drawn into closer understanding by these marital arrangements:

[596] If a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his kin do not consider themselves related to his wife's people. But there is a relationship of mutual friendliness and help which is set up between the two families. If someone of the family of the boy is giving a tiswin party or a social dance, the members of the other family are sure to be invited. The relationship is expressed by this term, "friends we have become." If a person uses this of another, it is understood that they are friends because of the marriage of a relative of one to a relative of the other. This word can be used for other things. You can say, using it, "Because he gave me something, we have become friends," but in this case the reason for the friendship has to be expressed. If the word is used alone, it gives the idea of friendship through marriage.

N. is on especially friendly terms with D. and his family. He borrows their property and can get help there any time. Yet N. and D. are not relatives. They have no right to call each other anything. It is because N.'s sister married D.'s brother; their relatives have married. This is a good example of "friends we have become."

621 602 591 When two families whose members marry live in the same local group, the benefits of the new bond are not difficult to exploit. This is less simple when the families are separated by some distance. Consequently, there is a tendency for intermarried families to make the logical adjustments. "The family of a married man would be very likely to locate near the family of the girl he married, because they considered themselves bound by ties of friendship. They would all be in the same local group, camping in the same general region."

Obviously, this is no rule which can be strictly followed. Where a number of sons marry into separated groups, a choice

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has to be made if the family is to live near "friends." All that can be said is that residence in one place rather than in another may be determined by the presence there of a family with which friendly connections have been established through marriage. 621 602 591

The presence of his own kin in the same local group where he lives with his affinities assures the newly married man of the perpetuation of a good many past ties, as an understanding of the relations between the extended family and the local group suggests. 602 621

The local group is a cluster of encampments in one general locality. It is a division of the larger group, the band. The people in it all camp around some well known spot from which the local group gets its name. Those who camp around Mora Mountain are called "People of Mora Mountain." This refers to all the people living together in this region. But within the local group there would be other divisions. All would not live at one place. Some would camp on one side of the mountain, some would camp on the other. Others might camp at any favorable spot near water. These smaller groups or camps are decided along relationship lines. That is, all the relatives and those who marry into a certain family live together. 621 596 361 [101]

These smaller units, the extended families, are referred to by means of the leading men in them. Thus, we speak of N.'s encampment, C.'s encampment. The local group is not a relationship group strictly, but the extended family does consist of relatives. If a person asks, "Who are you? To what people do you belong?" you give the name of your band. But if someone asks where you live, you say that you are one of a certain local group. 621 596 101

The local group tie is essentially one of residence and may be severed summarily: 621 602 591

The children are usually members of the local group to which the mother belongs, because a man is supposed to live near and work for his wife's people. When a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his direct affiliation with the first local group is over. He is now related by marriage to people in the second local group. But he has relatives in the first one, and in case of trouble or divorce he would go back there.

Further characteristics of the local group are summarized in this explanation: 621 596 591

The local group consists of a number of extended families living near some prominent family, that is, living around some family who has a good leader. This leader would be expected to lead the men of the local group when they go on raid or engage in war. But each extended family has its own place to store food. And whenever a girl's puberty rite takes place, people outside the local group come too. [554] [251] [881] [619]

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[582] A great many families of a local group are related, but not all of them. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that a man has to marry outside the local group. The families who make up the group shift constantly. A family will often go and attach itself to some other local group.

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462 The women of a local group are the ones who would go to gather mescal together. Those who went would go and come from the main group. It might be that they'd split off into smaller parties which would later rejoin. It depends on how thick the mescal is in one place and how many people there are.

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484 The members of the local group can go anywhere in the territory of their band, but they are out of place if they go into the territory of another band. An individual or family of the Southern Chiricahua band might join many Southern Chiricahua local groups in turn. . . . .

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726 At the time of a big raid, men from more than one local group might get together, but those from each locality would stay around their own leader. He acted as a sort of captain for them. When they made camp at night, those from one local group would stay together. For boys' training, the young fellows of a local group are the most that would be brought together at one time.

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182 Though allegiance to the local group is brittle and its composition is constantly changing, it does provide a common name, base, and leadership for its members and gives them the opportunity to engage in certain industries in common. In these matters it cuts across the boundaries of the extended family, and, if a married man has blood relatives in the same local group, it offers him the opportunity to co-operate with these kin for many purposes. This means that his horizon is never entirely limited to the interests of his affinities.

THE WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND'S RELATIVES

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596 The married woman has no formal obligation to labor for her husband's relatives but is expected to carry on her industrial activities in company with her mother and sisters as a permanent member of the extended family in which she was born. Moreover, none of her husband's kin calls upon her to avoid them. To express approval, some of them may, however, use polite form in speaking to her.

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Relatives of a boy can ask the girl he marries for polite talk if they think much of him. His own brothers and sisters and cousins can do this. The father and mother of the boy don't do this. They regard their son's wife as their own daughter. The brothers and sisters of both the father and the mother can do it though. But they don't have to. It's up to them.

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Another quotation extends this information: 602 195 844

> If she is asked to start it [polite form] with the boy's brothers, she can never marry one of them. The reason given for not using polite form to the boy's mother is that his mother may be required to be at the birth of the child of her daughter-in-law, and it would not be right for her to have such intimate dealings with the girl if she used the polite form to her. At the birth of a child, no one who uses polite form to the mother is around.

Other statements explain that the collateral relatives of the husband's grandparents but not the grandparents themselves, may request polite form. 602 195 It appears that the classes of affinities that expect avoidance from the husband are the very ones which, in the woman's affinal constellation, refrain from making even the polite-form request. None of these polite-form usages is obligatory, it should be noted. This time the initiative comes from the husband's relatives. The same sets of terms are utilized; it is the young woman who is called "one who carries burdens for me" by her affinity and who calls her husband's relative "one for whom I carry burdens." [601]

Again, the usage, to be effective, must begin at once. "I could have used polite form to my cousin's wife. It's too late now. I didn't start it from the beginning. My cousin could have used the polite form to my wife, but he didn't either."

In determining whether he will make the request for polite form of the wife, each member of the husband's relationship group is guided by considerations of age, degree of past intimacy, and closeness of connection to the linking relative—the same factors operative in the man's avoidance and polite-form obligations. Polite form between the woman and her affinal relative, once started, also is supposed to continue indefinitely, regardless of the disturbance of the union by divorce or death. [586]

A woman's obligations to her affinities at marriage are slight compared with those to which her husband is subject, but their existence does serve to indicate that she owes consideration to her husband's kin and can never entirely eliminate them from her plans. 602 Their claim upon her is most fully realized at the death of her mate when they can force her to accept a brother or a cousin of the deceased in his stead. [587]

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754 One characteristic often attributed to the sorcerer is sexual
157 aberrance. The stories of naked individuals displaying them-
834 selves come to mind in this connection. In the mythology, when
[839] Coyote is accused rightfully of having had intercourse with his
[602] mother-in-law, his rejoinder is, "That's witch talk." It will be remembered that one who neglects to hide from his avoidance relatives, or who is too familiar with the mate of a sibling or a cousin, runs the risk of being named a witch. Nor was it an accident that the tempters who offered a sorcerer's tongue were unclothed.

754 Incest is promptly equated with witchcraft. Of a person ac-
835 cused of marrying a close relative, an informant said, "In my opinion he must be a witch, and the tribe accuses him of that because he married a close relative. People are afraid of him." Another commentator declared: "In cases of incest, people say, 'They must be witches to do a thing like that.' I have heard several people who are accused of incest referred to as witches. They say, 'Even some witches wouldn't do that.' "

754 Public exposure and beatings are the mildest punishments
684 meted out to those discovered in incest. Just as often the extreme penalty is demanded.

> If two persons committed incest and were found out, a crowd would gather, and any headman would say, "I know those two had intercourse together; get them!" Everyone considered them witches, and they were burned. Incest sometimes goes before a council of people and sometimes the parents kill them outright. Usually the parents handle them.

[586] If they are distant relatives and did not know they were related and find it out after they marry, they go apart. That has happened often, I have heard. But if they know it and everybody knows they are relatives and they marry anyway, in the old days they would kill both of them as witches. That's what N. used to tell us happened before there were white men and law.

539 A "love-death" story is told of a man who could not face the
835 wrath of his relatives after misconduct with his sister:
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> In the old days there were a brother and sister, children of the same parents, who had been lying together. The people were suspicious of them for a long time. The young man thought that the old people knew about them, although they really did not. He knew that if they were caught, a terrible punishment would come, so he took this way out.

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683 623 69 When the anger of the relatives is not immediately spent, or when the case involves many victims, a different course of action may be adopted:

In olden times when suspected persons came before the council because they were acting peculiarly, and extreme measures were taken, like hanging them up by the wrists and putting wood under as though to light it, they would sometimes admit that they were witches. This was often done. I have seen it. If a person confessed, they burned him alive. The witch has to own up and name the ones that he harmed. Even if he promises to remove the evil influence, he is burned. When they are burned they have no more evil influence. Sometimes they were shot though—any way to get rid of them.

As this indicates, the examination and punishment of the witch are frequently matters of public interest:

When something wrong which affects the whole group occurs, the leader calls in the people involved, or the important men, or even all the people. For witchcraft, a council of this sort would be held. The case would be presented, and the influential men would decide on the punishment. A man can't accuse another of witchcraft before the council unless he is absolutely sure of it.

Execution by fire is the accepted way to annihilate the sorcerer:

They find out from the shaman if a person is a witch. Then they force him to tell if he did it. His relatives have no comeback. They string the witch up by the wrists so his feet are off the ground. The witch has to tell whom he witched. The confession is good evidence. Sometimes he has to tell what he used in his witch ceremony, and it is taken away. I have heard people, when strung up to a tree by their hands, admit that they were witches. They never let them go if they prove it on them. Then a fire is built under the witch, and he is burned. Burning destroys a witch's power for future harm, but what he has already accomplished is not undone. Witches do not burn up quickly; they keep on living a long time.

683 602 Relatives are not likely to stand solidly with their kinsman when he faces a charge of sorcery. At other times a family can defend one of its members, for it will be pitted only against some other family group of comparable size. But since sorcery, unlike murder or theft, is a public offense, the witch's kin face an aroused neighborhood, and the odds are hopeless:

. . . . Even your own son will be punished the same way. The witch will insist on his side of the argument; his opponent may die within a short time. If

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your closest relative is a witch, he is grabbed by a crowd and burned. If the relatives object, they go right into the fire too.[16]

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Fire and its derivative, ashes, are prophylactics against witches and ghosts. Objects of sorcery extracted from the body of the patient by the shaman are always consigned to the flames, where they explode noisily, giving assurance of the destruction of the witchcraft principle.[17] The same thing happens when the sorcerer's body is burned: "When he burns, there is a 'pop,' like a shot from a gun. It is the 'witchcraft' in him popping. At every burning I have seen there has been a 'pop.' "

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That false charges of witchcraft can arise from motives of personal dislike is acknowledged. Sometimes those who doubt the validity of the accusation are silenced at the time, however, by the enormity of the imputations, the strident assurance and political influence of the inciters, and the prospect of defending an unpopular cause.

Some that they burned were witches, but it was not proved that they all were. H. was a war leader. He burned up several men and several women because he suspected they were witches. It's like this: Someone might come alone to him and say, "There's a man over there who is a witch." Just because one person had told him this, he would send men over there, take that man, bring some wood, and burn him alive. Often they tied witches to a branch of a tree by the wrists with the feet off the ground, swinging.

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Punishment is in no way mitigated when the condemned witch happens to be a woman:

At a place in the Chiricahua Mountains, when I was a boy, I saw a witch woman burned. The people had gone to a shaman and had hired him to find out who was doing all the witching, for many deaths from witchcraft had occurred. The shaman had sung all night and had finally found out who the witches were. He told the people the witches were a certain husband and wife. He advised them to get rid of these two.

The couple had a young baby in the cradle at the time. While the shaman was

[16] Another reason why relatives shrink from aiding a witch will be developed later (see pp. 254–57).

[17] Only those things that are considered evil and dangerous are destroyed by fire. When I asked an informant his opinion of cremation, he said with feeling, "It would be sure to show hatred of a dead man. He is already dead. What's the use of burning him up?"

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683 singing, the husband spied around to see what it was all about, and he heard that he and his wife were to be caught in the morning and punished. So he took his wife and baby and escaped over a mountain during the night.

The next morning the people went to the witches' camp, and they were gone. They began to trail them and they followed them up the mountain. They finally found the woman and baby in a cave, alone. The man had gone. They brought the woman and her baby back. Since the man had got away, they were satisfied to have the woman.

They questioned the woman and asked her to hand over her witchcraft [paraphernalia], thus giving her a chance. The woman said she was unable to do so; she admitted that she was a witch, but said that the power had split her tongue in the center and had put witchcraft there, so that whatever she mentioned happened. That was how she witched, she said; but, of course, she could give them nothing.

The people said, "Well, we've given you a chance. We would not have punished you if you had given us your witchcraft objects. But now we can't see a chance for you. You are in a bad way, and we have to punish you." Meanwhile they continued to question her. At the Chiricahua Mountains there had been a battle, and two good men had lost their lives. This should not have happened. Who was responsible for that? They asked her. She was scared and admitted that she was the one who had caused their deaths.

The people became angrier. They gathered wood and piled it under a tree. Then they hanged her on the tree by the hands so that just her feet touched the top of the woodpile. Then they set the wood afire. The fire flared up and burned the woman to death without her saying a word or crying.

While she was burning, they held her baby. The baby was very small, and nobody wanted to take it, and they didn't have milk for it. They thought it was better to kill it than have it suffer hardships when it grew up, so they threw it in the fire, although they hated to do it. The group felt good about having killed the woman, because a witch deserves punishment.

After this woman was burned, many people died anyway, because, as she burned, she may have been witching people. None of the leaders of that time or their relatives are living now, and it is odd. It must be due to witchcraft.

754 602 *Sorcery, power, and kinship.*—The evil pursuits of a witch are a constant threat to the lives of his relatives—an even greater menace to them, perhaps, than to outsiders:

[678] A man may not be carrying out the rules of his power. The power says to him, "Now there, you stop that and do as I tell you." But if the man has a strong mind, he might say, "No, I'm going to keep on this way. If you don't like it, take your ceremony back." And if he continues to disobey, perhaps his close relatives are taken. But some keep on like this on purpose. They are witches and are willing to have their relatives die.

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OWNERSHIP OF GOODS, TRADE, AND GIFT-GIVING

Not all individuals display an equal willingness to engage in every task that has been described. Shiftless persons have to be exhorted to better efforts by their spouses, relatives, and friends. Concerning a man whose laziness is proverbial, an informant remarked: "I heard his wife begging him to get out and work. She said, 'We're hungry. We haven't anything to eat.' I never was lazy like that man."

The strong group loyalty of kin, and the feeling that food should not be withheld from the hungry, save the family of the unproductive individual from acute suffering. "They just live poorer, that's all." And, since both the man and the woman work, remissness on the part of one is often compensated for by the redoubled efforts of the other. Here it is that the relatives of the partner who is being imposed upon step in to prevent his abuse. The kin of a woman whose husband is economically worthless to them are likely to bring pressure upon her ending either in more significant contributions from the man or in a divorce. If the fault lies with the woman, the husband's relatives remind him of the more satisfactory way in which he lived before his marriage, and he feels that he has grounds for divorce.

Ordinarily, however, ridicule is enough to force the unenterprising into moderate conformity:

> If there is a lazy man who doesn't work but lives off the others instead, they give things to him all right, but at the same time they talk to him, telling him that he's able-bodied and has a family and should help himself and hunt and take care of himself. They scold him and shame him and try to make him change. A man like that usually changes; there are lots of them. Many of them don't even go to war, but prefer to stay at home with the women. Some make excuses and act sick and do things like that so they won't have to work.

The products of an individual's industry, skill, and daring are, in theory at least, his own. The dwelling and the domestic articles she has made belong to the woman. How she disposes of baskets, water jars, and parfleches is strictly her business, and her actions are seldom disputed by her husband. The only limitation on her rights is that her own household be reasonably well equipped. Likewise, those things which a man makes or obtains

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421 are his own, and his wife may not dispose of them without his
[431] permission. But if he recklessly gives away all the booty he has
[626] earned in a successful raid and leaves his own family impoverished, he is subjected to stinging criticism at home and ridicule outside.

439 Trade is more likely to be intertribal than intratribal. "The women who didn't make their own pots got them in trade from the Pueblos and from the Navaho too. Those people came down with peaches and pots and things on burros and traded them for
438 saddles and things we had." But some bartering does go on
439 among tribesmen. "If a man wants a certain blanket, he offers something. If it is refused, he offers more until a deal is made." When something is needed for ceremonial purposes, a particular kind of feather, for instance, the one who has it is approached and offered whatever is required to induce him to part with it.

43 That trade is not further developed has been attributed by
463 informants to the lack of emphasis on specialization of labor:

> A good maker of bows cannot spend his time just making bows. Everyone makes his own bows and takes care of his own property. A woman who is widowed lives in a poorer condition; that's all. She does not get things she needs by trading.[19] There is not much specialization of labor. We were on the move
> [648] all the time. The Mexicans were always after us. A person didn't have the chance to specialize on any kind of work and trade off the things he made.

43 Another barrier to great interest in trade is the solidarity of the
602 kin group and extended family in material matters. The ease
[426] with which objects can be borrowed for legitimate purposes makes less important their actual ownership and their acquisition by barter.

425 And yet, in various ways, goods do pass from person to per-
[525] son. The wagering of property on games of chance, for instance, makes for a great deal of circulation of possessions of all kinds. Gambling is almost a major occupation for some individuals, and persons of all ages and both sexes show a lively interest in it.
[465] Much wealth changes hands, too, as a result of payment for ceremonial services. Because so many persons are involved in the

[19] But for evidence that pots were sometimes traded see pp. 383 84.

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[602] Prestige, obligations to relatives, and the general tenet of generosity perpetuate gift-giving even in situations where no return present is likely to be forthcoming. Nevertheless, these gifts set up currents of reciprocity which stimulate the exchange and circulation of property:

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> The Chiricahua's nature, the life of the old times that we have been telling about, was free. We gave gifts to one another and didn't ask anything in return. If a man liked you he would say, "I am going to give you a horse, or a ring"—like that . . . . free. To give is considered a good trait, to give without asking something in return.

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MARITAL AND SEXUAL LIFE

PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE 593

THE common term for mate, used reciprocally by husband and wife is "companion," or, literally, "one with whom I go about." Their joint concern in maintaining a home, rearing children, and securing the necessary household supplies requires close co-operation between them. Although [562] men receive greater deference in public and women are subordinated to them in many ways, at home the feeling tone is usually one of equality between husband and wife.

Occasionally, in spite of the fact that women are considered [562] more unstable than men, "easier to tempt," and more prone to quarrel over trivial things, the wife may be the dominant figure in an encampment. One extended family is continually referred [596] to by the name of the wife of the founding pair, though the husband is living. In this case, the man is very retiring and so is generally ignored. Of another man it was said, "Now he is a slave to his present wife; she cusses him out anywhere."

That a wife is in touch with her kinsmen and has a haven [602] available gives her an assurance in dealing with her husband which she might otherwise lack. If she is badly treated, she can [586] escape to her parents' dwelling, and they will permit her to stay there. Then "the man has to beg for his wife from the outside, and he may or may not get her back."

Still, parents are often unwilling to involve themselves in the 593 personal affairs of their married daughter unless the situation is 606 truly desperate. One father, though he complained of his son-in-law's conduct, seemed in no mood to give his daughter help:

> One time my daughter came in and began crying to me. She said, "That man beat me again. I am not going back to him! I don't want to live with him any more!" I told her, "I told you not to marry that man, but now that you have done it, you had better go over there and take your medicine."

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837 [156] [626] cited over such an affair, "sometimes his friends will try to inflame him." Thus the social pressure upon the husband for stern action is often almost equal to the efforts of the leaders to settle the matter peaceably.

684 The woman, since she is close at hand, is likely to be the first to feel the husband's wrath. A beating is the least punishment she suffers. If there is no one to intercede for her, her very life may be forfeit, or she may be subjected to mutilation:

A man never whips his wife without reason. If he finds out that she is unfaithful, he whips her, cuts her nose, or else kills her. He would have to have evidence of unfaithfulness and not hearsay, however. Treatment like this does not come for little things. For not obeying him, or for not working, a man would merely [593] scold his wife, and he would do so in private. If the woman has committed adultery, the people think that what happens to her is her own fault and don't say anything about the punishment she gets.

The reason they cut the nose of a woman is to make her look ugly. She is marked so that no one will meddle with her. One woman who is still living has her nose cut like this. Her husband cut her nose out of jealousy and left her because she went with another man.

The husband is just as insistent that the man who has disrupted his home be punished:

After the husband has punished or killed his wife, he will go after the man and kill him. But the other, if he is wise, will run away and not return for years until it has blown over. I cannot remember a case where the man who is to blame [627] has killed the husband instead. If that happened, close relatives of the husband [602] would kill him.

837 578 Nothing leads more quickly to trouble between men than suspicion or charges of wife seduction:

This morning I went up to a place where a group of men were standing. I was right beside B. Pretty soon L. came. You could see he was angry. He placed himself right in front of B. and said, "Somebody was crawling around my camp last night and bothering my wife, and I just want to say that if I catch anyone around there again, I'm going to kill him." You could see he was talking to B. B. just hung his head. Then L. talked to B. directly and said, "If you ever come around my camp again, I'm going to kill you."

I saw there might be trouble, so I stepped between them. "Now don't get mad," I told L. "Don't get yourself into trouble."

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With divorce, each person takes his own belongings without fuss and goes to his and her old home. This did not often happen. The woman has little power to stop a divorce if her husband wants one. Even if she doesn't want a divorce her husband can get up and leave. If the woman wants to leave and the man doesn't want her to, he can try to hold her by force. But she can usually get away to her parents' home. 586

Impotence as well as frigidity may be an important factor in divorce decisions: 586 833

When a man can't get an erection, it is attributed to witchcraft. If it can't be cured, this might be the real reason back of a divorce. [754]

If a woman marries an impotent man, she may stay married to him for wealth or something, but most likely they would separate.

After divorce, though a man must continue the avoidances and polite forms which his marriage brought into being, the material hold of his former wife's relatives is at an end: 586 602 606

If a man is determined to divorce his wife, or if she insists on divorcing him, the parents-in-law cannot very well stop it. All the obligations of the man to support the woman's family stop at divorce. He cannot be made to marry any sister or girl cousin of his wife at any time in the future.[1] But avoidances and polite forms go on. Both the man and the woman are free from each other and from each other's families as soon as the divorce has gone through, as soon as they have separated. They can each marry as soon as they wish again then. [595] [587]

The presence of children acts as a decided brake to divorce action. "In the old days it was pretty hard to get a divorce when there were children. It was not often done then." 586

If, in case of divorce, the mother's relatives are willing to contribute to the support of the children and the mother is willing to maintain her household, this is considered the best solution. Though there is no definite rule, there is the feeling that children should be under the care of the mother and her kin during their formative years. Babies who are not yet weaned always remain with the mother, and, in general, very young children are likely to stay with her. Sometimes older children, particularly boys, are claimed by the father. When the man can charge that the woman is at fault and has not been a fit parent, public opinion and the pressure of group leaders force acquiescence on the part of the wife and her relatives. [626]

[1] For a discussion of the sororate see pp. 421–25.

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586 of the wife and her relatives. Wealth may even decide the issue;
[556] where the relatives of the wife are poor and the man and his kin have greater resources, the husband may take a child with him at the dissolution of the marriage.

[589] The divorced man returns to his parental home or stays with
[587] some close relative. Unless he is well along in years, he soon marries again.

589 The chief loser in a divorce action is the woman. For at least
587 part of her sustenance she is now once more dependent on her
[602] own relatives, who, too, have lost economic assistance. Because she is now an experienced woman with a record of marital difficulties, it is unlikely that a new husband will offer presents to her parents. Should she fail to be married again soon, her reputation
[578] suffers. The word meaning "single woman who has been married before" (divorcée, widow) has an unsavory connotation. "This word would only be used to a single woman who was married before, and never to one who is single in the sense that she has
[558] not married at all yet. The word is more or less of an insult, and a person would not use it to a woman whom he respects."

589 Because unmarried girls are carefully guarded, the promiscuous women are usually divorcées and widows who have failed to remarry. From them the community and their kin do not exact the same high standards of conduct demanded of the unmarried
[574] girls: "At a drinking party there might be a young divorced woman, but it is very unlikely that any unmarried girl would
[848] attend. Young men attend though." Divorced women are thought more likely to have illegitimate children than the unmarried: "After a first marriage a woman might have children out of wedlock, but that kind of woman is not liked."

587 Marriage can be more easily contracted with a divorced
583 woman than with a maiden. The waiving of marriage gifts has already been noted. Less pressure upon relatives and less per-
[584] suasiveness are required in arranging such a match. The celebration of a military victory or the social dance of a puberty rite may even be the occasion for a very informal union with a divorced woman:

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156 Every now and then a woman would be expert with the bow and could make arrows and a bow. This is exceptional though. Two women here could do everything like a boy when they were young. D. could ride well, make a bow and arrows, and was a real athlete. She has been married. Her husband died just a few years ago. She has never had children, but her husband was married before and had two children by his first wife.

[838] These women, though they are more interested in masculine pursuits than the average woman, are not considered transves-
[868] tites. All girls are urged to be strong and fast. It is simply accepted that these particular individuals have carried the requirement further than is strictly necessary. Their preoccupation with such things was confined primarily to their youth. They have married, have accepted the woman's role in all essentials, and in old age are not distinguishable in dress or behavior from others of their sex and years. The attitude of those discussing them is never one of ridicule or condemnation but rather one of admiration.

838 True berdaches are rare, and their emergence is definitely discouraged. The last one of whom I have a record died before 1880:

P. and S. had a brother who was like this. He never married. He died in Old Mexico. This man talked and walked like a woman, sewed clothes, and made moccasins. He didn't make baskets though. He went where the women were all the time. He hardly ever went where the men were playing at hoop and pole, and he himself never played it. Instead he played the stave game with the women. Such people were never treated with any great respect by us. We just laugh at them.

595 POLYGYNY AND SORORAL POLYGYNY

[773] In a coyote story a white man whom Coyote deceives is said to have two wives. The polygyny with which this alien is credited is really practiced by some men of the tribe:

In the old way a man can have more than one wife. Of course, he isn't expected to take more than one wife if he can't afford it. If he isn't a leading man or a good warrior, he shouldn't do it. A common man is criticized for it. It is the wealthy men who have more than one wife. A man can have more than two wives. It depends on a man's position and whether he can provide for them.

When a man takes a second wife, it is usually a sister or relative of the first. But this is not always the case. Perhaps there are no more girls in that family, or
[602] there are none of the right age. If the women a man marries come from different
[606] families, he has to hide from both his mothers-in-law and keep up the avoidances and polite forms for the relatives of both those women.

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595 in the same dwelling. If one has a baby, he sleeps with the one who has no baby."

595 602 The motive force toward sororal polygyny, of course, is the obligation which the man owes his first wife's parents. Should they permit him to marry a second wife from another family, they would, in effect, be agreeing to share his time and services:

If a man wants a second wife, he is not free to marry anyone who appeals to him. His first obligation and duty are to his wife's family. If his wife has any sisters or female cousins who are eligible, he would have to marry one of them rather than go outside the family. If he wants to marry outside nevertheless, he has to get permission from that family. He would never make such a request unless he suspected that the family does not care much about him anyway. Even if the wife's family does not have any eligible girls, as a matter of courtesy he should state his intentions and ask permission. The great obligation of a man to his wife's family guides him in all his actions. Therefore, the second wife is usually the sister of the first.

595 But, for one reason or another, it is often impossible to establish sororal polygyny:

Sometimes a man takes the sister of his wife as his second wife. But it does not always happen that way. It's pretty well divided. N. had two wives who were not sisters. Another man has two wives who are sisters. There are a good many cases where the women are not sisters. C. had three wives at one time. One is left now. They were not sisters. G. had four at one time; none of them were sisters.

595 609 195 Whether sororal polygyny can be arranged depends in large measure on the ages of the wife's sisters when the husband joins the family and on the relations which they initially establish with him:

If the sister of your wife wants to, she can hide from you. Usually she doesn't do this though. She can use polite form to you if she wants to. If she starts this, you probably will never marry her, at least while your wife is alive. Only a grown girl would use the polite form to you. Using the polite form is not a matter of liking a person only; it is a matter of respect. And when you have this respect relationship between you, you aren't going to get friendly and intimate to the point where she can become a second wife.

But if a sister of your wife is quite young when you marry and she doesn't use polite form to you and grows up around you, sees you without your shirt, and under all conditions, she isn't going to use polite form to you when she grows up. She is too friendly with you for that. Then you can marry her all right. . . . .

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A man is "bound" to his wife's sister when his wife dies. The woman has the right in the matter. She approaches the man or not as she wishes. If the wife has a sister and a cousin, and the sister does not like him but the cousin does and asks him to marry her, he is obliged to marry her as if she were the sister, and the family considers it in the same light. If no one asks him within a reasonable period of time, the man can marry anyone he wishes. 587

It's just the reverse if a man dies and leaves a widow. Then one of the dead husband's brothers or cousins can ask her to marry him, and she cannot refuse.

The sororate.—As soon as a man's wife dies he becomes "bound" to his affinal relatives. Together they go into formal mourning. The attitude toward a well-liked and grief-stricken son-in-law is kindly. "After the death of his wife, a good man, in the old days, would not care for anything. He would not even care about making a living. But his wife's relatives would help him. They would see that he got the necessities." But should the widower be too light-hearted or show interest in any woman of another family, it is counted a grave affront to the departed and a serious breach of the respect owed her relatives. Those to whom the bereaved is "bound" are said to be "jealous," that is, watchful of his conduct. 602 • 765

As it functions, the sororate is a device for bridging quickly, with least disadvantage to the children of the deceased and to the extended family, the gap caused by the death of a married woman: 587 602

When S.'s sister, my wife, died, he called me [by the term meaning] "bound to" his family. I couldn't have called him this. It meant that I was not free from him, that if he had any more sisters he could make me marry one. But that was all the sisters he had. Now that I'm married again, he can't call me that.

If a man's wife dies, he will marry a woman to whom he is "bound." If his wife dies, a man is "bound" to her sister, and if she has no sister, to her unmarried cousins. If the dead woman has two unmarried sisters, he might be asked to marry either. The word *ica* means "belonging to."[8] In this case, where his wife has died, the man is "bound." He is not exactly forced to marry the woman to whom he "belongs," but her family wouldn't like it if he refused. They couldn't do much about it though. He would just violate that rule.

If a man is "bound" to a woman, it's up to her to act and show what she intends to do. He must not speak to her first about it, for he belongs to her, and it's her right. After a while she would come to him if she felt like it and say,

[8] While this informant's suggestion is good, it seems to me that "bound" or "bound to" is a closer approximation to the meaning of the term.

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587 602 "Now you are 'bound to me.' If you are willing, we will get married." She would come to him personally. Then there would be no presents, no wait, no feast; they just begin living together.

But if she lets several years pass without asking him, it would be a sign that she does not want to marry him. In this case, he knows that they are willing to let him go, to let him marry outside that family.

The man usually goes and asks permission of his dead wife's family if he wants to marry out of it. Even if his dead wife's people have no more girls and he wants to marry again, he will have to let her parents know what he wants to do as a matter of courtesy.

The family of the dead woman cannot force the man to marry anyone other than a relative of his former mate, however:

If the dead wife has no sister, the man may be forced by his in-laws to marry whom they say, and he won't object as long as it is a relative of his wife. But if they have no relatives for him to marry and they suggest another girl, he isn't bound to obey.[9]

If there are two sisters of the dead wife left and they both want him, he takes the one he pleases. He practically always takes the older though. But it's the woman who has the say; if she objects to the man, he doesn't marry her, of course.

The degree of control which the family of the deceased exercises is further explained in another statement:

If the widower has nobody to stand up for his rights, his in-laws can make it tough for him and see that he can't marry anybody else if he won't marry his [586] sister-in-law. He might marry her, however, and if they don't get along, they can divorce—and that is the man's chance to get free.

[168] When a man's wife dies, the children usually go to a female relative of the wife to be cared for. Later, if the man marries again out of the family, he can get his children back. But if he marries out of the family, he can't get married again until a year or two after his wife has died. It depends on how soon her relatives will let him marry again. If you marry out of that family, you have to wait a long time. If a man loved his wife, he wouldn't want to remarry for a long time anyway. Only a bad one, a low-down cuss who was not brought up right, would remarry soon.

587 602 765 The long mourning and waiting period which must elapse before a man may marry someone who is not a relative of his first wife is again emphasized in another comment:

[597] [9] But a sister by adoption may be considered a blood relative for these purposes: "If a girl adopted into a family has a 'sister,' at her death her husband would be 'bound' to this sister."

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If a man whose dead wife has no eligible sisters or cousins marries outside the family too soon, his former wife's family resent it and call him down for it. This is thought to be very disrespectful to the dead and is considered very serious. He can't do anything like this before a year of mourning has passed. Often it is two years before he can get permission.

Soon after his wife's death a widower was approached concerning matrimony by an alien woman. In his own words:

I changed the subject as quickly as I could. It was only a short time after my wife's death, and I knew that I couldn't marry then, for my dead wife's family would take it as an insult. . . . Then I told her, "Maybe I could think about such a thing later on. But here my wife has been dead only a little while, and her relatives would get mad at me if I married now, and then no good would come of it."

This same point is brought out in a criticism of a book purporting to be a life-history of Geronimo:

I know that there are lots of things in that book that Geronimo wouldn't like. For instance, he [the author] says that Geronimo married again a few months after the death of his first wife. Geronimo did not marry a sister or relative of his first wife; therefore, he could not have remarried that soon. The Chiricahua simply do not do that. I know that Geronimo didn't marry until long after the death of his first wife. The only way an Apache can marry again pretty quickly is if he marries one he is "bound to." But if he marries an outsider right after his wife's death, they sure criticize him!

Look at R. His wife died. He then married his wife's sister. He married about four or five months after his wife's death. No one thought anything against it. But if he had married that soon outside the family, they would have thought it was awful. After his first wife died he stayed camped near his mother-in-law. The mother-in-law and his present wife took care of the children after their mother died. Now the family goes right on. That's what this way of doing things is for.

The last part of this quotation introduces a significant point—the shortening of the mourning period to facilitate the remarriage of a man to a member of his deceased wife's family:

The dead woman's sisters talk over who should take the children, if there are any. If one is unmarried and wants the man, she marries him and takes the children. If a woman dies and leaves a widower, the dead woman's sister is supposed to ask the man to marry her. They marry in less than a month sometimes, though they might wait as long as a year. But some people don't wait long after the death of a brother or sister. This is all right if they marry the mate of the dead person.

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595 The sororate does not become operative when one of a man's co-wives dies, even though the two women were not sisters. It is then considered that a man's obligations are to his surviving wife and her relatives:

N. was an Eastern Chiricahua. He had two wives. One died. The one who died had sisters, but they had no claim on him, because he had one wife left. He lived with this one wife until she died. This last woman had no sisters, so he lived on single for many years before he died. The "bound to" relationship does not apply when a man has more than one wife.

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602 Theoretically, a bereaved man is supposed to accede without dispute to the wishes of those to whom he is "bound." But actually he or his relatives may resist these dictates, and, if his case is a good one, succeeds in gaining his freedom:

If they offer me my mother-in-law after my wife's death and I don't like her, I do not go to my wife's family myself but I get a relative of mine whom I trust. I say to him, "My brother, my mother-in-law wants to give me her daughter, and you know what kind of a girl she is! Her sister was a very different sort of woman. I had a good home with her and I worked well. But with this girl it would be different. She would make trouble for me and perhaps I would make trouble for her. She runs around with men and doesn't work hard."

Then my friend will go to my mother-in-law's house and bring back word from her. If the old lady is convinced, she will say, "My son-in-law lived well with my daughter and we like him. This other daughter is not the right kind for him. He is sensible and is doing right. We would be glad to keep him in the family, but I don't blame him at all. I leave it to him." Then I am free to marry as I want to.

Just as often the man is willing enough to marry his wife's relative but waits in vain for the summons:

D. was married to T.'s oldest girl. This woman died. He wanted then to marry another girl of the family, the sister next in age to his dead wife. The old folks wanted to arrange it that way, for it was according to the old customs and D. was "bound to" them. But the girl didn't want to. This girl is dead now. There were no other daughters old enough. She considered him too old and ugly, I guess. The girl thought she could do better by passing up that old custom. It was up to them to give him a girl or to free him. The old people didn't want to force the girl, so they had to let him go.

So important is the sororate that it may override any restraints which avoidance or polite form has imposed:

If the wife's sister or girl cousin avoids a man and at the death of his wife she wishes to marry him, she could roll a cigarette, take a few puffs on it, and send it

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to him by a messenger with the words that after that they would not have to be ashamed before each other. If the man accepts the cigarette, he no longer has to avoid her and is free to marry her. 587 602

If she has not been avoiding him but was just using polite form to him, she could offer the cigarette herself, saying that thereafter the polite form would not be necessary. If he accepts it, all would be as before. [195]

Even when the family to which a man is "bound" has no girl to offer in place of the deceased, the man must act with the greatest of respect until he is formally freed:

If his father-in-law has no more daughters, the husband will want to marry out of the family after a while. He will say, "I am young and I wish to marry. I respect you and your family, but you have no more daughters for me." He has to get permission to marry out. If the old man refuses permission, even if he has no more daughters, the young man will have to obey. The old man, the father-in-law, is the boss. When the young man gets permission he goes off to another encampment and marries there. [606]

An excellent example of the spirit in which an understanding is reached and of the speeches that pass back and forth before the widower regains his freedom of action is provided in this account:

If, after my wife's death, my mother-in-law has any more daughters and she likes me, she will send one of them, and I'll marry her. But if she has only sons, and finally I feel that there is some other woman I want to marry, I talk to my brother-in-law, if he is old enough, and I say, "I have had a hard time, but now I want to marry again. You have no other girls for me to marry, and now I am ready to marry again."

Then he will go and tell his mother, and the next day he will come back and say, "What has happened has happened. It can't be helped. If we had anybody to give you, we'd give you a woman. You have been good to us, and we hate to have you part from us, but there is no help for it. We hope you will get a good girl and be happy." After this you are not under obligation to your mother-in-law.

The levirate.—The existence of the levirate does not give a man any extraordinary privileges with the wife of his brother or male cousin while these relatives are still alive: 587 607 605

In the right way a man is supposed to have great respect for his cousin's wife. You should leave your brother's wife alone and your cousin's wife alone too. They call you a witch if you do otherwise. Only when people get very old do they joke a little when they are related like this—people of R.'s age [sixty-five to seventy] might, but never the young people.

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587 607 605 If a married man dies, however, his widow becomes "bound" to his family and particularly to his brothers and male cousins:

The woman then "belongs to" the dead man's brothers or cousins. She would be "bound" to them. The woman cannot marry for a long time after her husband dies, except to one of his relatives. But if none of them asks her to marry within a couple of years after the death, it is a sign that none of them wants to marry her, and she is free to marry someone else if she has the chance.

587 602 Even though the woman remains among her own relatives after her bereavement, cares for her children as usual, and need not have much direct contact with her former husband's kin, she owes them obedience and courtesy. If she fails in this obligation, they are not slow to show resentment:

G. married a Chiricahua man. She was a Chiricahua herself. Her husband died, and she was, therefore, "bound" to her husband's family. They did not have an available man for her. T., the only possibility, was already married. So she married a Mescalero Apache. She went around saying some pretty mean things about the family to which she was "bound." T. got pretty mad and said he was going over there and slit her nose.

This illustrates the point that a woman is directly responsible to her dead husband's family. A woman who went around with someone to whom she was not "bound" might have her nose cut. It was the right of the dead man's family to dispose of her and watch her conduct. Any of them can warn her of her conduct. If the husband has no brothers, a cousin will marry her. The age of the cousin does not matter. The oldest one does not necessarily marry her. Choice is what counts.

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Should the widow's relatives-in-law choose for her a man she does not like, she and her kin must convince them that the marriage would be unwise. If the woman has been an unworthy wife, if none of the brothers or cousins of the deceased is interested in her, or if the dead man's relatives feel that her family was too harsh to him, the group to whom the widow is "bound" reject her.

There is the case of a single man whose married brother died. Then the dead man's wife was "bound" to him. She wanted to marry him all right, but he didn't want her. She waited a number of years, but he wouldn't have her. He knew she wanted him. People used to kid him about it. We would say, "Now she is 'bound' to you, why don't you go and marry that woman?" It would sure make him angry! A good many of the boys used to tease him. She finally married someone else.

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It is not an easy task to learn these stories. You have to be patient when the stories are being told. You have to listen very closely. You have to sit up at night when it's very cold, no telling how long, sometimes all night. When a funny story comes along, everybody is laughing. And at all other times you have to listen very closely and be quiet. As much as I have sat up and listened to the stories, I have to be reminded of some of them in order to get it correctly the way I first heard it.

When Coyote stories are being told, there is generally a big crowd present. The older people, before they told the Coyote stories, would say, "When you tell these stories, they make you very sleepy." When you get sleepy, they wake you up. They shake you or they tickle your nose with grass. I've been treated that way. But, if someone just can't keep awake, they let him go to sleep.

Both old men and old women could tell the stories. It would be like this. Some of these stories are very funny, and many times the boys of about fourteen years of age would get together and go to some old man's home and say, "Tell us Coyote stories."

But the Apache is very careful not to embarrass someone before whom he is ashamed, even when he is telling Coyote stories. If he comes to one of the stories that would embarrass anyone, he says, "I want to tell you, in case people who are ashamed before each other are here, that I am going to tell some very funny stories now." Of course, not every man will do this; it depends on the individual. A man like C. doesn't care what he says. But I remember that most people would be very careful at such times. Once my father was telling stories. My brothers were there, and my sister and my wife and some other women. Pretty soon he came to one of these stories. One by one we men went out and went into a shack next door. You probably noticed that just now I told my son-in-law to go into the tent next door, build himself a fire, and stay there. I just don't want him to hear me tell stories like that.[1]

When interested people, young or old, visit him to hear his rendition of the myths and tales, it is an opportunity for the narrator to display his hospitality as well as his abilities. He seldom allows his guests to leave without offering them food: [574]

One time at Fort Sill seven of us boys came to N. About ten o'clock he said, "Make coffee for these boys. I don't know how long they'll stay. We'll have lunch about midnight." So we stayed and had a big lunch. That's what they used to do a long time ago, he said. N. knew the old ways. We stayed until three or four in the morning listening to old stories.

[1] No father-in-law avoidance is practiced in this case. Though the informant is a Chiricahua, his son-in-law is a Lipan. The Lipan do not practice avoidance of affinal relatives. [606] [184] [602]

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society. But if a person doesn't take hold of the customs, if he cuts loose, if he doesn't treat other people right, he has no chance. Then others do not help him. He is alone. He is bound to come to a bad end and perhaps be killed. A person just has to observe certain things. They aren't laws—they are so strong we don't need laws. A person is supposed to keep certain customs.

183 128

These customs, the resentment evoked by their violation, and the rewards attending their faithful performance have constituted a large share of this narrative. Consequently, definitions of antisocial conduct have emerged in particular contexts. The measures taken to correct children who misbehave and the penalties attached to premarital sex adventures, rape, witchcraft, incest, perversion, and infidelity have received such treatment.

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Nothing has been said thus far about theft. Most possessions are so obviously personal and easily identified, or so readily made or procured, that theft is rare. But food and buckskins are occasionally taken.

If a person is known to be a thief, the one from whom something is stolen will take measures of personal punishment according to the value of what was carried away. If the thief pays back something valuable, it is acceptable; or a relative of his might pay it back. The whole group did not have to be called together for this. It could usually be straightened out between the two involved.

Nothing much is done in case of theft. If the thief is caught, he has to give back the property, and he is talked about and disgraced.

[754]

Theft is uncommon enough so that anyone who is guilty of it is viewed as an aberrant. The identification of witches as "people who steal" will be remembered.[13]

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The reaction to murder is of an altogether different character. What happens if the murderer is an alien has already been discussed. When he is a member of the tribe, the bereaved relatives are scarcely less bent upon satisfaction. They may insist upon his surrender and death, even though refusal of their demands leads frequently to armed conflict and a feud between the families. Though the slayer's kin may elect to defend him, if, before they can act, the relatives of his victim catch him and kill him, they have no just cause for grievance: "If your relative is murdered and you kill the one who did it, it is all right. His family have no comeback. There is no meeting about it; it is no group

[13] See p. 247.

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682 affair. If the killer is not given up by his family, usually a fight
602 between the families takes place."
627 In another statement the rancor of the murdered man's kin and the possibility of struggle between the two families is mentioned, but the effort on the part of outsiders, and particularly of the leaders, to maintain the internal peace of the group is also stressed:

> If they are not interfered with, the dead man's relatives take revenge. Sometimes a battle between the two families takes place. More often, though, the head men use their influence and succeed in preventing the fighting. They try to arrange it so the murderer or his family makes a payment to the family of the slain person or to his friends. There is no set payment for this. Horses or anything valuable that they have would be used.

Sometimes relatives of the slain person may be satisfied with physical punishment of the murderer which falls short of the death penalty:

> A man killed my brother. He shot him in the head and the brain splattered. I came and asked him why he did it. He said, "Your brother is not the only one whose brain I'll splatter!" My heart burned. I said, "All right! We'll fight it out!"
>
> We went to get guns. We came toward each other. He shot twice and missed. I just kept coming. I shot him in the left arm, and he said he had had enough. His arm was always stiff after that; he couldn't use it much.

If the slayer has been a constant trouble-maker and an embarrassment to his family, they may be unwilling to defend him further, particularly when he has evoked the anger of a powerful kin group:

> In a case of murder the relatives of the dead man kill the one who did it if they can find him. Sometimes the killer's own relatives do not protect him. If he has been getting them into difficulties right along, in order to avoid future trouble in which many lives would be lost, they do not do much about it. They figure that they did not encourage him to do the killing, and it was on his own responsibility. If the killer has a wife and children, however, others try to prevent the family of the slain person from taking revenge.

But unless outside pressure and the influence of leaders conciliate the two families, the tendency is for the relatives of the murderer to shield him and for the others to insist with equal vehemence that they give him up. Out of such impasses grow feuds.

What prevents this from occurring, in most cases, is the flight

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of the murderer, who either leaves the region as soon as he realizes the consequence of his act or is advised by his relatives to stay away until bitterness against him has abated or compensation has been arranged. His family may be implicated in his escape to the extent of furnishing him supplies and keeping his destination secret. Sometimes it is impossible to conciliate the aggrieved family, and the exile is forced to remain away—to join some other band or even some other tribe.

But usually, as soon as he is safe, a strong movement for a peaceful settlement is launched. It is the duty of the group leader to lend his moral weight toward this solution. He tries to bring representatives of the two families together at a council where generosity is likely to be acclaimed. If the plan succeeds, an old and respected member of one of the families steps forward finally and says something like this: "Let us not have trouble. We eat the same food, walk upon the same earth, breathe the same air, and the same sun is over us. There is no reason why we should have trouble between us. Let there be peace." This truce is then solidified by the passage of valuable gifts to the family of the slain person. Now a spokesman for the murderer is free to voice his plea: "We all know our friend, and we are sorry for what has happened. What has happened cannot be helped though, and now our friend has given valuable presents, and we wish to take him back into our people. Let us go on living together and forget what has happened."

Yet the animosity often continues to smolder latently. A polite but unmistakable antagonism between two men, for instance, was explained in this way:

> He has it in for L. It was his uncle that L. killed in Alabama. They got drunk, and somehow L. hit the other man on the head with a bottle. This case was supposed to be patched up, but it has never been forgotten. That's the way it is in lots of these cases. They can't get out of their minds what was done to their relative, and they look for some other excuse to start trouble.

In all probability the greatest deterrent to antisocial conduct is not the specific penalty for the offense but the concern over social disapproval. The influence of this factor is diffuse and difficult to trace in detail, but children and adults alike are exhorted to remember what others will say and think of their behavior.

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If a very old woman, though she is no relative to me or my wife, comes in here, she can pick up my child and call it, "my daughter's child." If there are more than the one around, she can call them by the term that White Painted Woman used to Child of the Water. This has been handed down from the beginning. I've seen many old women who have a kind heart for children do this. Old men can do it too. It's a religious way, sort of a blessing.

Also, certain of the prohibitions are less strictly applied to the aged. It will be recalled that very old people may joke in a mildly risqué manner with affinal relatives whom they had to treat much more circumspectly when they were young.

And yet, the consolations of age notwithstanding, this way of life is such a strenuous one that the episodes of action and daring of youth and middle age are the treasured moments in a career. The individual grows old reluctantly, with his eyes on the past, often with sad songs that recall his lost youth:

Many years ago I saw an old man sitting by the fire working. He sang this song then, and, as he sang it, the tears rolled down his cheeks. He was thinking back to the good times he had when he was a young man. It's really an old man's song. They just sit there in a pitiful way and sing it slowly. I can't sing it like that.

When I was young, I took no heed;
Old, old I have become!
Because I knew that age would come
To me, I took no heed.

But to those who live still longer there comes a time when life becomes a burden, when debility hems them in, and "they are not happy because they can't get around." Then, at last, the aged person must confess:

Well, I've seen my best days. I am old. I am a nuisance to the group, and if anything happens to me it's all right. When I was young, I saw happy days and I had a good time. Now I'll never see those days again. I'm old and useless and not fit for anything, not even to live.

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took a gun and shot into the air about fifteen times, right in succession. This was not done with arrows before the guns came into use. I'm pretty sure it dates from the time that guns came in. It may be connected with the shooting over the graves of dead soldiers by their comrades that the Chiricahua saw. Such shooting is not always done, but it occurs quite often.

The close relatives get the body ready for burial. A close friend might help, but it's hard to ask him. A person who lays out the corpse of a near relative does not mind so much, for he is supposed to do it, but you have a queer feeling if you lay out the body of one you are not related to. No particular relative has to do it. All those who are closely related to the dead person feel that they should help if they are called on. It can be men or women who do it. We don't like to do it, but it can't be helped. We are really a little afraid to handle bodies. Not long ago I had to handle a little baby when it died; I had to stay up and see it die. Many try to get out of it when they can.

The body is bathed, or at least the face of the dead person is always washed. The hair is combed, and red paint is put on his face to make him look nice. The dead person is dressed up in his best clothes for the burial. The burial always takes place in the day, on the same day that death occurred if possible. They bury the corpse quickly and far from the settlements—in the mountains, if they are near. They don't want children at a burial. Just a few older people who are needed go.

The best horse, the favorite horse of the dead person, is used. The dead person's robes or blankets are tied to the horse, and the horse is loaded with his belongings. His good saddle is put on the horse. Then the corpse is mounted on the horse and is held there by his relatives as the funeral procession makes its way up the canyon to the place where the burial is to be. As the funeral procession passes near the camps, the people cry for the dead man, if he was their good friend.

Out there the members of the burial party might strike a little natural depression at the bottom of a hill. They could use this as a grave. They wrap the body in a blanket or a hide, put a little brush under it and some on top, and put a few rocks on top if they are handy. Or they put down a layer of rocks, put the body on it, then brush and branches over, then leaves and dirt, and finally rocks on top until there is a small mound.

If they find a little cave or a hole in the rocks, that is used.[3] The body is put on the floor, and the entrance is blocked up with rocks and covered with mud to hide it and make it look like the side of the cliff. They aren't going to talk about the grave and tell where it is. They don't want anyone to know or think about it.

When a cave is not handy, they might scoop out a hollow grave and bury the body in a hole in the ground. A hide or logs would be put over the body to keep out the animals.

The body is always laid with the head to the sundown. The property they

[3] Interestingly enough, there is a term which means both "cave cache" and "grave."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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would ask a kinsman to act as intermediary for him in seeking the girl's hand. This "go-between" would visit the girl's parents' encampment, offer presents, and seek to make the necessary arrangements. If the girl's relatives approved the offer, the girl and her mother erected a dwelling in the vicinity of the parental home, and the union was recognized as soon as the boy took up residence with his new wife. Sororal polygyny was permitted, and the young man, if he proved a successful hunter and good provider, was encouraged to marry the younger sisters of his wife as they matured. Both the sororate and the levirate were practiced. A man could be forced to marry a sister or female cousin of his dead wife, and the woman could not refuse her dead husband's brother or male cousin if he wished to marry her. At marriage the Apache man was obliged to observe an unusually large number of avoidances and special forms of speech in respect to his affinities. Among others, the Mescalero man avoids his mother-in-law, her mother, her mother's sisters, and her sisters. In addition to avoiding his wife's female relatives, the Chiricahua man is called upon to avoid his father-in-law and may be requested to avoid other of his wife's male relatives. More distant relatives of the wife might request a special form of address known as "polite form" instead of avoidance. Where a choice is possible and avoidance is requested of a man by the affinity, it signifies great love for the girl through whom the relationship has been established and approval of the match.

The Apache man who enters the extended family through marriage is expected to work unremittingly for his in-laws. All the game that he kills in the hunt is brought to his wife who carries it to her mother's home for utilization and distribution. Whatever parents-in-law command or suggest, a son-in-law is expected to perform.[8]

8. For the details of the Mescalero and Chiricahua kinship systems see Opler (21).